

Apartheid's
friends and
enemies

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The prying ghost of J. Edgar Hoover

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

William Webster, the Kansas City judge whom Jimmy Carter appointed FBI director in 1978, had a reputation in Washington as "Mr. Integrity." He was widely credited with transforming the FBI from a weapon against political dissent to the scourge of crime bosses and corrupt politicians. Democrats as well as Republicans hailed his nomination last year to succeed William Casey as director of the CIA. "Webster is a highly regarded professional who will bring much needed credibility to the CIA," Senate Majority Leader Robert Byrd told the press. But FBI files obtained by the Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR) cast serious doubt on Webster's probity and the FBI's rehabilitation.

According to these files, which the CCR acquired through the Freedom of Information Act, the FBI, with the explicit approval of Webster and then Attorney General William French Smith, conducted intense surveillance of CISPES (the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador) from 1981 through 1985. CISPES has protested Reagan administration policies in Central America and gathered food and supplies for those areas in El Salvador controlled by leftist rebels.

The CCR received only 1,320 out of 3,756 pages in the FBI's surveillance files, so one cannot know the full extent of the FBI operation. But from the documents released, it appears that at least 52 FBI field offices were involved. The investigation also spread well beyond CISPES. In the documents released, 193 other organizations are cited, including members of the United Auto Workers and Maryknoll Sisters. Individuals attending public rallies were photographed, and their license numbers taken down.

On February 2 Webster's successor, William Sessions, appeared in a closed hearing before the Senate intelligence committee to answer questions about the CISPES investigation. Afterward, Sessions told reporters that in some areas the investigation "was not properly directed," but he insisted that the overall operation was legitimate and had not gone "out of control." From the files obtained by the CCR, however, Webster's FBI appears to have been out of control—if control refers to the limits on political surveillance that Congress and the Justice Department drew up after Watergate.

Unreasonable searches: At his press conference, Sessions dated the investigation from 1983, but the Center claims that it began in 1981—a contention confirmed January 28 on the *MacNeil/Lehrer NEWSHOUR* by Justice

Department spokesman Patrick Korten. In 1981, the FBI began investigating CISPES to see whether it had violated the Foreign Registrations Act by failing to register as a representative of a foreign power. The FBI gave up this investigation after a year-and-a-half, but then in 1983 mounted a counterintelligence investigation to see whether CISPES was linked to "foreign terrorism."

The FBI justified this second, more extensive investigation under vague and partly secret counterintelligence guidelines. While the post-Watergate attorney general's guidelines require that the FBI have solid evidence of crime before it investigates a domestic political group, counterintelligence guidelines do not appear to restrict FBI investigations of groups with foreign ties. According to the Reagan administration's Executive Order 12333, signed by the president in December 1981, the FBI can investigate groups or individuals in order to gather "information relating to the capabilities, intentions and activities of foreign powers or persons." Moreover, under this order, the attorney general can authorize the use of "electronic surveillance, unconsented physical searches, mail surveillance, or monitoring devices" without obtaining a search warrant. Both the CCR and the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) have charged that this order violates the constitutional protection contained in the Fourth Amendment against "unreasonable searches and seizures."

Neither the CCR nor the ACLU contends that there are no circumstances in which the FBI would be justified in investigating a political group suspected of foreign ties. But they argue that in this case the FBI had no grounds for its extensive four-year investigation. Ann Mari Buitrago of the CCR charges that the FBI used "the CISPES investigation as a cover, a pretext, to conduct domestic security investigations forbidden by the attorney general's guidelines."

In the files the CCR obtained, there are clear echoes of the kind of broad-based, highly political investigations conducted by J. Edgar Hoover's FBI. Hoover's COINTEL-PRO program, established in 1956, was intended not merely to investigate but to disrupt dissident organizations. The New Orleans field office of Webster's FBI puts the CISPES investigation in a similar framework. In a report to Webster, the New Orleans office wrote, "It is imperative at this time to formulate some plan of attack against CISPES and specifically, against individuals [deletion] who defiantly display their contempt for the U.S. government by making speeches and propagandizing their cause while asking for political asylum."

Hoover also used the existence of Communist fronts during the '30s and '40s to justify the investigation of any organization that took political positions similar to those of the Communist Party. Webster's FBI seems to have used the same pretext to investigate the members of hundreds of organizations that shared CISPES' opposition to the Reagan administration's Central America policy. In the documents there is a telltale exchange between the

FBI Phoenix field office and Webster's headquarters.

In November 1983 the Phoenix office reported on its investigation of the Tucson Committee for Human Rights. It discovered that the committee, founded in 1976 before CISPES existed, "has always been a non-violent organization, which has been utilized as a forum...for dissemination of information regarding Latin American matters." The field office said that further investigation of the group was unwarranted.

But in January 1984 Webster ordered the field office to continue its investigation. The field office, Webster wrote, "should consider the possibility that the Tucson Committee for Human Rights may be a front organization for CISPES."

Break-ins: The FBI's use of Hoover-era techniques against opponents of the administration's foreign policy may extend well beyond this investigation. Since 1984, the CCR has received more than 90 reports from anti-administration groups and individuals of mysterious office break-ins and of political harassment and surveillance. And these reports continue. For instance, on November 2, 1987, the director of the Central America Peace Initiative in Austin, Texas, was called by the FBI and asked to submit to an interview. He refused and two days later began to have obvious interference on his telephone line.

On October 31, a stranger told a Massachusetts man who had lived in Nicaragua for two years, "The FBI is looking for you and now they know where you work." Several weeks later, the man saw a suspicious car parked in front of his house. When he neared the entrance of his home, the man in the car photographed him.

Previous attempts by reporters, including this one, to establish a conclusive pattern among the break-ins, IRS audits, apparent surveillance and other forms of harassment have proved unsuccessful. But the CISPES file shows that this is the kind of activity the FBI has been engaged in. It shifts the burden of proof away from the CCR and onto the FBI. The FBI must now demonstrate that it has not resumed its former role as the principal threat to political freedom in America.

INSIDE STORY

The FBI will get its chance. California Rep. Don Edwards' House judiciary subcommittee on civil and constitutional rights will hold hearings soon on the FBI's CISPES investigation. Perhaps Mr. Integrity, who has thus far refused reporter's questions, can then explain what his men and women have been up to the last six years.

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By Jeff Nason and Malcolm Byrne

WASHINGTON

FOR OVER A YEAR NOW, VICE PRESIDENT BUSH has tried to put the Iran-contra affair behind him. As in his verbal prizefight with Dan Rather, he has repeatedly dismissed questions about his role by saying that both the Tower commission and the joint congressional Iran-contra committee cleared his name.

But the written evidence gathered so far strongly suggests that Bush not only knew much more than he admits about the arms-for-hostages swap with Iran and the illegal funding of the Nicaraguan contras, but that he was deeply involved in both boondoggles. And despite his angry claims to the contrary, most of the evidence implicating the vice president comes from the very investigations that he says exonerated him.

Iran, but I can't hide: Bush has claimed that the original U.S. arrangement with Iran was not an arms-for-hostages deal. But an internal authorization for covert action—known as a "finding"—indicates otherwise.

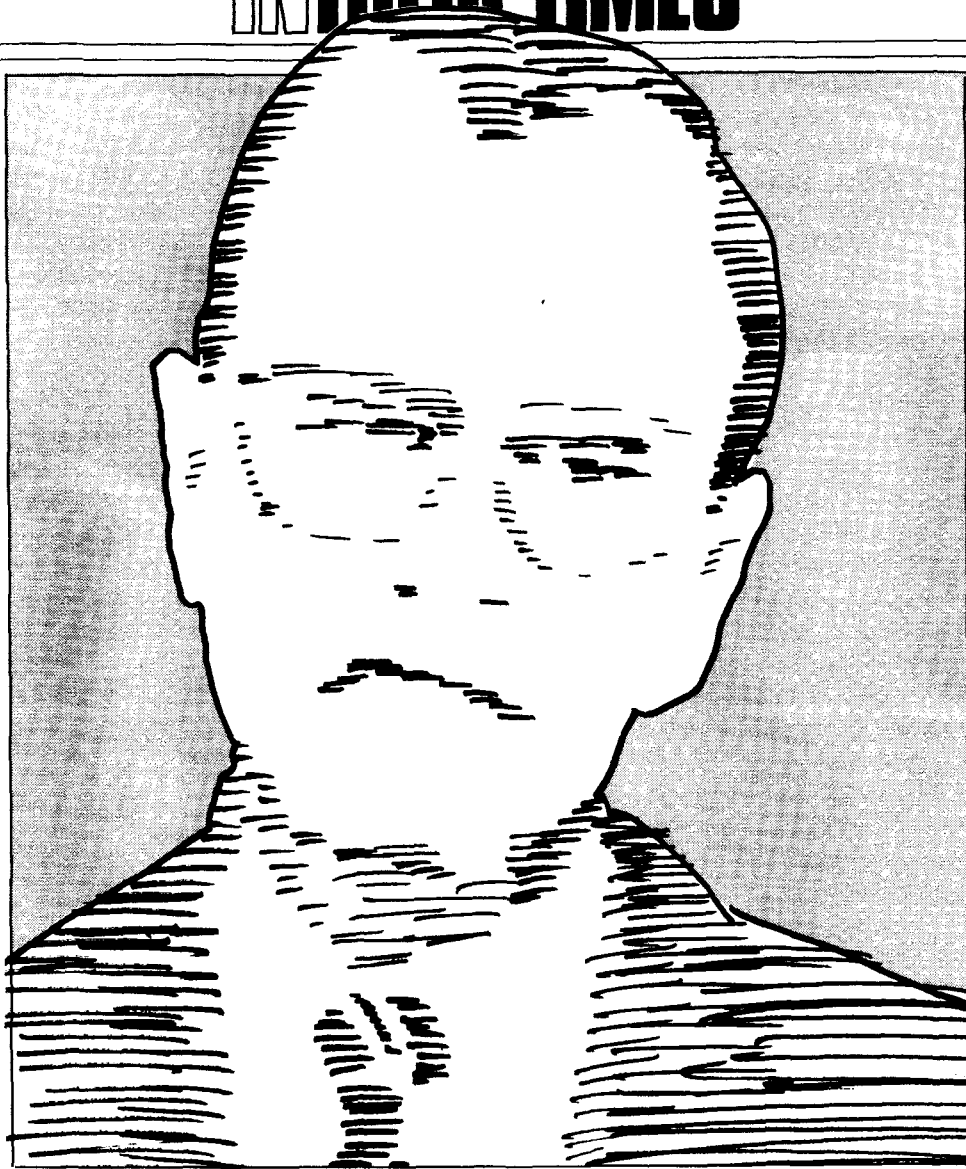
According to the finding, signed by President Reagan January 17, 1986, the U.S. planned "that the hostages would be immediately released upon commencement" of the direct sale of TOW missiles to Iran. Notes written by National Security Adviser John Poindexter on the finding read: "President was briefed verbally from this paper. VP [vice president], Don Regan and Don Fortier were present."

Bush has said his motivation for endorsing the deal stemmed from news that one of the hostages, CIA Station Chief William Buckley, was being tortured. But according to the Tower report, the U.S. had reliable information in October 1985 that Buckley was already dead. If Bush was concerned about Buckley, it must have been early on, which raises the question of whether he agreed with the plan as early as August 6, 1985, when former National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane first laid it out to other administration officials. According to White House logs, Bush was at that meeting.

Still, Bush insists he was "out of the loop" on the Iran initiative. He told CBS news anchor Dan Rather that he did not learn the full details of the plan until a December 20, 1986, meeting with Sen. David Durenberger (R-MN)—more than month after the deal broke in the media. But the documented evidence suggests that Bush knew the details well before the deal was publicly exposed. Documents released by the Tower board and the Iran-contra committee, show that Bush attended at least 15 briefings in which the arms deal was discussed.

These included a January 7, 1986, briefing at which Secretary of State George Shultz expressed his adamant opposition to the proposed deal. The briefing came nearly a year before Bush says he knew the details of the plan. Bush has said at various times that he was not at the briefing, or that he might have left before the subject came up. At any rate, he claims not to remember Shultz's objections. But three weeks after this meeting, Poindexter wrote an internal White House computer message stating that the "president and VP are solid in taking the position that we have to try" an arms-for-hostages deal.

Bush also attended a May 12, 1986, brief-



Will the real George Bush please fess up?

ing—seven months before Bush claims he had full knowledge of the deal—at which McFarlane's planned trip to Iran was described. Bush requested that McFarlane postpone his trip until the vice president returned from a visit to Saudi Arabia that month. According to the Tower report, he was also present at the May 29, 1986, briefing for the president, at which McFarlane described his trip to Tehran and recommended that the deals be discontinued due to bad faith on the part of the Iranians.

I'd Rather not say: A key event that Rather questioned Bush about took place on July 29, 1986. It was a meeting between the vice president and Amiram Nir, Israel's point man in the arms-for-hostages operation. Verbatim notes taken by Bush aide Craig Fuller were published in the press and treated extensively by the Tower panel.

According to those notes, Nir told Bush that "we" were dealing with "the most radical elements" in the Iranian regime because "the

radical group was the group that could deliver." Bush told Rather than Nir was describing what the Israelis were doing, not the U.S. But Fuller's notes contradict this claim. At one point Fuller quotes Nir as saying, "McFarlane says 'we want all hostages out.'" In this instance, "we" clearly seems to include the U.S. The final congressional report, which Bush often uses in his defense, makes it clear that the U.S. had control of the operation. It concludes: "With the signing of the [January 17] finding, the administration was embarked on an arms-for-hostages initiative the Iran in which the United States—not Israel—would play the lead role."

Bush also recently claimed, "I didn't know what [Nir] was referring to when he was talking about radicals, nor did I ask." However, Bush also maintains that he believed the U.S. was dealing with "moderates." How could he have understood one term and not the other?

The coverup connection: On November 4, 1986, the day after the Lebanese weekly

Ash-Shiraa broke the story of the McFarlane trip to Tehran, Shultz wrote to Poindexter recommending that the "best way to proceed is to give the key facts to the public." But Poindexter wrote back rejecting the suggestion. "[W]e must remain absolutely close-mouthed," he wrote. "Today I have talked with VP, Cap and Bill Casey. They agree with my approach."

As the scandal unfolded in the media, Bush took part in a series of meetings relating to the arms sales, according to documents. These meetings included a November 10, 1986, gathering of top administration officials, a November 12 briefing for congressional leaders and another session with administration principals on November 14. It seems highly unlikely that he did not learn the full Iran story until more than a month later.

After the November 14 meeting, Deputy National Security Adviser Alton Keel wrote an internal White House computer note to Paul Thompson of the National Security Council (NSC). It read: JMP [Poindexter] would like to have the [January 17] finding sent out to the principals involved in the instant national security decision (VP, Shultz, Weinberger, Casey, Meese, Regan) via the [deleted] channel." Assuming the finding was in fact sent, this information sharply counters Bush's claims that he didn't learn the full details until December 20, 1986.

In addition to all this, Bush was interviewed by Attorney General Edwin Meese on November 24, 1986, as part of Meese's "inquiry" into the scandal. Meese later told Congress he informed Bush at this meeting about what was learned in the inquiry. Unfortunately, no notes were taken of the discussion. On the same day, Reagan met for two hours with his top advisers, including Bush, to discuss future Mideast policy. How could Bush have planned future policy without knowing about past policy?

Contra-dictions: Bush's public statements about his knowledge of, and participation in, illegal funding of the contras also frequently conflict with the documented record. The key link to Bush in this aspect of the scandal is his national security adviser and longtime CIA operative, Donald P. Gregg. Gregg appears to have been involved in the illegal contra resupply effort, yet the vice president has never explained his aide's actions, nor repudiated or fired Gregg.

According to the final report, Bush "said he did not know of the contra resupply operation." Gregg produced a chronology in December 1986 of connections between the vice president's office and the contras. The chronology, which underwent several revisions after it was first released, insists that Gregg never aided the contras nor discussed them with his boss. The vice president's aide has been quoted as saying the issue was not "vice presidential" and that no one in his office had any interest or expertise on the subject.

Yet documents and other evidence included in the final report indicate otherwise.

In fact, Gregg appears to have been involved in the contra operation almost from the start.

In July 1982, eight months after Reagan authorized the CIA to establish the contra forces, Gregg penned a draft finding while head of the NSC's Intelligence Directorate that authorized expanded assistance to the

Written evidence strongly suggests that Bush not only knew much more than he admits about the arms-for-hostages swap with Iran and the illegal funding of the Nicaraguan contras, but that he was deeply involved in both boondoggles.

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INSHORT

By Jim Naureckas

And no Illuminati, either

Televangelist turned presidential candidate Pat Robertson says in his basic campaign speech that the first thing he would do as president would be to remove the influence of the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) and the Trilateral Commission from the State Department. "I would make an absolute pledge," he says, "that I would appoint people in those jobs who are free from CFR influence and would be absolutely certain that we got people in the State Department particularly who would stand up for the United States of America and stop trying to move us toward a one-world socialist government."

Life of the party

The Nicaraguan civil opposition, seen by congressional "moderates" as the shining hope of that country, continues its process of mitosis. At last count there were 16 separate parties or sub-parties, including three Conservative and four Liberal parties. One reason for the constant party splits is that in Nicaragua, unlike the U.S., it is legal for parties to receive foreign funding. "Everybody wants to be the leader, especially since it means having control over the funds from Europe, Venezuela and the U.S.," a Sandinista leader recently explained to the D.C.-based Central American Historical Institute.

I was a contra

Eiren Mondragon, a contra regional commander who accepted a Sandinista amnesty in 1985, on life in the contra camps: "Women were being raped there... They played cards for the women, for the peasant girls. The contras would grab whatever girl they wanted and throw her in their tent and abuse her." The Quakers' American Friends Service Committee quoted Mondragon in a recent report, "I protested in a written report that I gave to [top contra leaders Enrique] Bermudez and [Adolfo] Calero. They said to me, 'Thanks for your report. But if we take this away from them, 80 percent of the troops would leave and the war would have to stop.'"

Twilight in America

More reports are coming out on the real state of the '80s economy. A Congressional Research Service study finds that real hourly wages have declined 10 percent since 1970. Meanwhile, the Council on International and Public Affairs, a non-profit research group based in New York, reports that the real jobless rate rose two percentage points in 1987, to 15.8 percent, the highest rate since the 1982-83 recession. (The council's jobless rate includes people the government counts as the unemployed, plus part-time workers who want full-time jobs and "discouraged" workers who have given up looking for work.) And the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, a Washington research group, announced that programs for the poor have been cut again in fiscal year 1988. Since 1981, these programs have been cut by 54 percent in inflation-adjusted dollars.

Vote of confidence

The FBI's harassment and infiltration of groups critical of the Reagan administration was documented last month through a Freedom of Information Act request by the Center for Constitutional Rights (see page 2). But these FBI dirty tricks were already in the public record when then-FBI head William Webster was undergoing confirmation hearings to be made CIA director last spring. (See the April 22, 1987 *In These Times* cover story on the "Federal Bureau of Intimidation.") Yet the Senate still confirmed him on May 19, 1987, with only one dissenting vote—Harry Reid (D-NV), who complained that Webster's FBI had conducted "reprehensible" investigations of Nevada officials.

Beyond Wingo

Rupert Murdoch's London tabloid, the *Sun*, published stolen letters to a male lover that forced a judge to resign last month. Letters from judge Martin Bowley were reportedly taken from Bowley's lover by a thief who wanted to force the lover to sleep with him. According to another judge quoted in the *Manchester Guardian*, "The *Sun* knew before publication that these letters must have been received by them from a blackmailer who wanted to publish because his victim would not comply with his blackmail demands."



YOU CAN'T LIVE ON HOPE.

You hope this guy is finally the right guy.

Saatchi & Saatchi's subway ads spread the word underground, but TV spots couldn't make it on the air.

Safe sex is no sex on New York TV

"Don't Go Out Without Your Rubbers." So reads one of the seven posters created as part of a controversial AIDS education campaign kicked off by the New York City Department of Health last May. The campaign, produced on a *pro bono* basis by the advertising firm of Saatchi & Saatchi at a cost of \$1.5 million (underwritten in large part by the New York Life Insurance Co.), aroused a storm of controversy when it was initially released.

The reason? It candidly advocates condom use to limit the spread of AIDS in a city where almost 6,000 people have died of the virus and an estimated half-million people have been exposed to it.

Though the campaign is targeted at a predominately middle-class, heterosexual audience—health department officials say that the gay community has effectively educated itself—several TV spots have been dubbed into Spanish. The health department also commissioned two other agencies to produce ads that warn of AIDS risks to intravenous

drug users and encourage abstinence to avoid the virus.

There's no question that the Saatchi ads are candid. All of their three TV spots rest on the assumption that since people are not going to stop having sex, they had better get used to using condoms.

In one a young woman preparing for a date slips a condom into her purse as she is leaving home. In another a mother tells her child, off-camera, that "there's no way of me knowing who you're seeing or what you're doing, and I hate the idea of you doing things you're not ready for," but, she concludes, holding up a condom, "if you're doing anything, you use one of these."

The third spot depicts a young couple kissing. As things get heavier, the woman presents the man with a condom, at which point he backs off, saying, "You don't want me to wear this?" Sensing he won't change his mind, the woman tells him to "forget it" and walks out of the apartment, leaving him standing, perplexed, in the doorway.

To date the TV ads have gotten the cold shoulder from the New York media. Only a couple of stations, one owned by the city, will air the spots.

WABC has rejected all of them, citing its parent network's policy of not running condom advertisements. Both WCBS and WNBC are running the spot about the mother, but only after 11 p.m. The announcements advocating abstinence have predictably received wider play.

The reasons for this self-censorship are problematic. Supposedly responding to public values, TV executives program ignore the fact that far more sexually explicit material bombards the public in soap operas and other network fare. The TV programmers' decision is especially frustrating in the face of a survey on the Saatchi campaign that found that the percentage of those favoring condom use to prevent the spread of AIDS increased significantly after the ads were seen.

Moves such as the one being attempted in New York City will require a change in how the media has treated the disease. As Sam Friedman of the N.Y. Department of Health noted, for these campaigns to succeed "they must be bold, explicit and repeated." They should also mention those rubber things.

—Nat Moss

Suspicious neighbors? Call 1-800-CALL-SPY

Thanks to the Pentagon, Americans worried about the threat of espionage can get personally involved in the battle by calling a toll-free number. The U.S. Army's CALL-SPY Hotline officially commenced opera-

tions in April of 1987 and its director, William M. Dwyer, says the Army has had "considerable success with the program."

The hotline, which is run by the Army's Intelligence and Security Command, is directed primarily at Army personnel and civilian employees. According to Dwyer, however, many of the 19,000 calls logged so far have come from the general pub-

lic and members of the other services.

A flyer advertising the hotline urges people to "report your suspicions...to someone whose job it is to investigate suspected cases of espionage...someone who knows." The flyer warns that espionage is "an ever present threat" designed "to defeat you—in the next war." Its targets are "you, your family, the Army, and

our country."

The flyer gives examples of the telltale signs of spying. "Do you know someone," the flyer asks, "who is called at work by someone with a foreign accent who refuses to give a name or leave a message?" Other individuals to beware of include those who brag "about their involvement in 'James Bond' type activities," anyone who "always has a lot of unexplained money," and anyone who "makes frequent short trips out of country—unofficial—over long weekends—to places like Canada, or Central or South America."

Washington supporters target defectors for defeat

CHICAGO—Not since two Black Panther Party leaders were killed by Cook County police in a 1969 raid has the black community been so infuriated, community leaders say. Outrage over the Panther deaths led to a black voter backlash against the machine-backed state's attorney, Edward Hanrahan, who was ousted in 1972.

This year anger over the bitter mayoral succession, six days after Harold Washington's death, may cause a black uprising against blacks.

Ardent Washington supporters have kicked off what some describe as a crusade to dump black officeholders who want to rekindle machine politics or make deals with old-guard white colleagues who historically disenfranchised the black community.

For starters, organizers have targetted for defeat in March 15 Democratic ward committeeman races three aldermen and the brother of a fourth alderman who voted with the city council's white ethnic bloc on December 2 to elect Ald. Eugene Sawyer acting mayor. Sawyer also faces a challenge to his bid to keep his committeeman post, which he has held since 1968.

The splintering of the slim council majority gained by Washington in late 1986 after court-ordered redistricting has threatened the good government reform course charted by the late mayor, say community organizers. Whites and Hispanics in the 25-member voting bloc rallied behind Ald. Timothy Evans, while six of the 18 blacks strayed.

Originally, 11 black aldermen supported Sawyer, but community pressure peeled away five.

The pro-Evans and pro-Sawyer factions of black aldermen continue to feud. The rift showed up late last year, for example, in votes to strip community agencies of \$150,000 in federal Community Development Block Grant money. Ald. Anna Langford admits she wanted to strike back politically at community groups that mobilized grass-roots support for Evans. They should be forced to "dissipate this hatred" be-

Callers from the general public are advised to pass their suspicions directly to the FBI, but hotline personnel will forward information to the bureau if a caller prefers. The Army is well aware of the potential for abuse of the program, Dwyer says, and all calls are answered "by experienced and knowledgeable counter-intelligence personnel." Investigations go through three levels of review in order to ensure that no one is falsely charged due to an inaccurate reading of their travel or social life.

Dwyer claims that the hotline has been very effective but declines to

give details of any spy rings uncovered. He does say, however, that calls from personnel have led to the correction of poor security at a number of Army installations.

The Navy was certainly impressed by CALL-SPY. Shortly after the Army hotline began taking calls, the Navy established an anti-spy, toll-free number as well. The Navy hotline was initially geared specifically toward the investigation of spying by Marine guards. Now, however, the program is to be permanent and, like the Army's, general in scope.

—Ken Silverstein



Acting Mayor Eugene Sawyer

fore they get the money, she says.

Meanwhile, the movement that beat the Democratic machine by backing Bernard Carey for state's attorney in 1972, Ralph Metcalfe for U.S. representative in 1976 and Jane Byrne for mayor in 1979—and that sent Washington to office in 1983—has re-energized to help the "freedom" committeeman candidates. Block clubs have met, voter registration drives are underway and "political education" seminars have been set up to prepare not only for the March election but also a special mayoral election in 1989 and the 1991 aldermanic races.

Petitions are circulating in the wards represented by Ald. William Henry, who orchestrated Sawyer's 29-19 victory, and Ald. Sheneather Butler, another Sawyer backer, asking that they voluntarily resign their council posts. In Henry's ward, about 8,000 registered voters have signed the petition. Residents of Butler's ward have launched a campaign to change state law to allow for recall of public officials.

Community organizers claim Sawyer's black allies want to return the city to the old regime ridden with favoritism and cronyism. Butler, in an interview with *In These Times*, admitted a preference for patronage spoils.

"The way I hear it, the old machine was better for everyone," she said. "Back then, I guess through patronage, a lot of the aldermen were getting so many jobs and you could spread them throughout the community and make sure your campaign workers are employed...the people in your ward, the guys who pushed hard for you."

Declared Sawyer, who has pledged to carry on reform, "Patronage is dead, so that's not an issue now"—although Sawyer has moved to overturn the Shakman decree that bans political hiring in the city.

Sawyer told *In These Times* that he and his black council allies will work together on strategy for the committeeman contests. He said he will look to community activists who mobilized support for Evans to come over to Sawyer's side. "I think they have an obligation to help," he said, adding that experienced committeemen are needed to get out the vote in the presidential election.

Sawyer last month asked presidential hopeful Jesse Jackson to help dissipate the anger in the black community, which Sawyer blames on misinformation, manipulation and grief over Washington's death.

Butler and Ald. Marlene Carter both said the anger will make their committee campaigns more difficult, but they still believe Sawyer, the longest-serving black alderman, was the logical heir to Washington. Ald. Robert Shaw, whose twin brother, State Rep. William Shaw, is running for committeeman, claimed his constituents favor Sawyer over Evans. "I think I have one of the most intelligent communities in the city of Chicago," he said.

Henry is also targetted for defeat in the committee race, but failed to return phone calls before and after he had coronary-bypass surgery December 23. Langford is not seeking re-election as a committeeman.

Evans, who is touted as the candidate to defeat Sawyer in 1989, said in an interview that the reform movement is strong and stable. "Mayor Washington was the embodiment and the symbol of that movement, but actually the movement was larger than any one personality," he said.

"It's my view that the community commitment to reform is just as vibrant and waiting for a new vehicle."

—Marcia Nickow

Bush league

Percentage of registered voters, according to a *New York Times* poll, who have a favorable image of Dan Rather: 51. Percentage of registered voters who have a favorable opinion of George Bush: 31.

Killers of the Sea

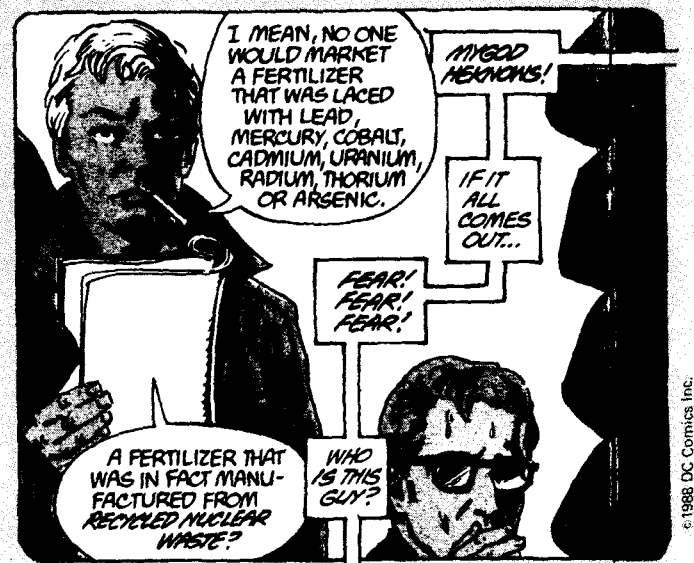
"Ask any mermaid you happen to see: Who kills dolphins? Chicken of the Sea!" That was the chant last month at Ralston Purina Company's stockholders meeting in St. Louis, Todd Steiner reports. Demonstrators, organized by the San Francisco-based Earth Island Institute, were protesting the killing of dolphins during tuna harvests for Ralston's Chicken of the Sea brand. The protesters were calling for a boycott of all Ralston Purina products. Earth Island's dolphin education coordinator, Carrie Stewart, characterized Ralston Purina as "one of the chief offenders in the dolphin slaughter. Ralston Purina could easily stop buying tuna caught by killing dolphins." In a press release issued after the annual meeting, the company admitted that 7 percent of their tuna was caught in the eastern tropical Pacific, the region where the dolphin killings are known to occur. As Stewart put it, "Why kill hundreds of thousands of dolphins to produce this insignificant amount of tuna?"

Football or blackballed?

When a panel of sportswriters last week made ex-NFL great Mike Ditka the first tight end to reach the Pro Football Hall of Fame, his election surprised several of today's best players. They thought that honor should have gone to John Mackey, who many football experts consider a better overall player. But Mackey was also president of the NFL Players Association from 1970-73, leading the union into the AFL-CIO, and was a key force in the first lawsuit the union won against the NFL in the battle for free agency—a fact the writers may not have been able to forget in this strike-torn year.

Bruises, but no scabs

The National Football League Players Association lost its strike, but can claim a certain poetic justice from the season's results. The Washington Redskins, who won the Super Bowl, did not have a single player cross the picket line during the strike. (The Redskins were one of only two scab-free teams.) The Los Angeles Raiders, a perennial playoff team that had a league-leading 26 players cross the picket line, lost two out of three games during the strike and five straight afterward and finished the season a dismal 5-10.



Cross-fertilized

The latest issue of *Swamp Thing*, a comic book known for ecological themes, features a fertilizer named "Rattinite" that is made from nuclear waste and contaminated with a variety of toxic metals. If this sounds familiar, you may have read *In These Times*' expose last August 19 on Kerr-McGee Corporation's unique method of nuclear waste disposal—turning the waste into a fertilizer known as raffinate and spreading it on local Oklahoma fields. The names are changed but we'd recognize those poisonous chemicals anywhere.

By David Moberg

MT. VERNON, IOWA

THERE ARE THREE MAIN WAYS IN WHICH THE U.S. can respond to its painful immersion in the world economy, former Arizona Governor Bruce Babbitt recently told a small gathering of townspeople and college students. One of those is to raise protectionist walls and "walk away from the international economy." Another, a favorite of too many corporations, he said, is to adopt the "Hong Kong model," which "says we compete by driving American workers down to the level of Hong Kong." The third is to recognize that now the U.S. has "a lot of dumb systems and smart people, people who could make a difference if anybody listened, if they were rewarded." That requires, he argued, "workplace democracy."

Babbitt has long languished at the back of the presidential pack, but has recently benefited from a wave of favorable media accounts and is creeping upward in some polls. Most of the attention has focused on his stern, self-righteous demands for "truth telling" about the federal deficit and his plans for a 5 percent national consumption tax and "needs testing" for all federal programs (see *In These Times*, Oct. 28, 1987). On these issues, Babbitt offers a mix of ideas, some good (like eliminating interest deductions for second homes) and some not-so-good (like his consumption tax, inevitably regressive despite his tinkering).

Toward a new workplace: Babbitt's less-publicized notions of workplace democracy, however, are among the most promising new ideas Democrats have offered. Talking about these ideas on the way to a campaign appearance, Babbitt admitted that he doesn't know exactly what workplace democracy would look like, "but I know trends when I see them."

He first encountered the idea through a friend, W.L. Gore, the inventor of Gore-Tex waterproof fabric, who "came to Arizona and set up a pretty remarkable set of workplaces that were in their concept democratic to the point of anarchy, all kinds of shared compensation, and no titles."

By contrast, in 1986 he was invited to mediate copper industry labor negotiations and "saw how adversarial and bitter the American workplace had become." Three years earlier, Babbitt had called out the national guard in the highly charged Phelps-Dodge strike that workers eventually lost. But in the 1986 conflict, he persuaded the reluctant unions to tie wage increases to copper prices. Luckily for both the workers and Babbitt, copper prices have since doubled.

Increasingly Babbitt became convinced that workplace democracy had "real power" but was not at first terribly inviting to either management or labor. "These are policies in search of a constituency," he admitted. But for a candidate who mostly offers stern lessons and bitter medicine, workplace democracy could have potent appeal—especially if presented more forcefully than Babbitt is doing—as a way of giving power to the average worker.

Slicing a different pie: "We've got a society where we say, 'Here's capital. You set up the business, you have the prerogatives,'" Babbitt argued. "The board of directors has legal obligations only to stockholders who put up the capital. Labor bargains for a piece,

Babbitt makes pitch for workplace democracy



Bruce Babbitt on workplace democracy: "I know trends when I see them."

and that's all that's owed to labor. All the rest of the relationships run back to the people who put up the money. Effective as that may have been in productivity terms when you had strong backs on an assembly line and repetitious tasks, if you really want to engage workers, you've got to engage them spiritually and intellectually as well as physically. In order to do that they've got to have a piece of the action in the broadest sense. They've got to have a fair share, not just defined in traditional terms of bargaining, but in terms of the whole spectrum of enterprise."

Babbitt clearly shares what has been dubbed a "post-industrial" view of the economy. More properly, it may be described as an economic agenda that stresses skill, knowledge, flexibility and specialization, even in traditional manufacturing.

"It becomes less and less possible to base an industrial economy on those distinctions [of capital and labor]," he said, "because we have enormously exacting, demanding jobs that require a level of engagement and skill...you can only bring out by involving people. And the price of involvement is power in decision-making. Otherwise the involvement is not real. It's cheerleading, and people don't respond to it."

Babbitt favors encouraging employee ownership, even though he's well aware that employee stock-ownership plans have often been badly abused. "The question is," he insisted, "how does employee ownership translate into democratic decision-making?" He doesn't see workplace democracy as "lessening the role of unions. There is a need for workers to have the power of numbers and organization. That in itself is a democratic concept."

Changing the priorities: Beyond worker ownership, Babbitt advocates a variety of policies that would democratize the workplace:

- If businesses treat executive bonuses as tax-deductible business expenses, then they would have to offer all workers performance pay. No company could offer "golden parachutes" to executives unless all departing workers got equivalent multiples of their salaries.

- All employers would be required to establish pension plans, and all pensions would be portable from job to job.

- Uniform national child-care certificates, scaled to income, would be available to everyone (see *In These Times*, January 27).

Babbitt, along with Jesse Jackson, endorses repealing the right-to-work provision of the Taft-Hartley Act allowing states to prohibit union shops. He also favors stronger enforcement of workplace health and safety standards, raising and indexing the minimum wage, granting tax credits for worker training, expanding unemployment benefits and reforming labor laws to ease organizing.

Besides worker ownership and decision-making, Babbitt's labor policy stresses "strategic investments in people," this year's standard Democratic gospel of education and training and pay-for-performance or "gain-sharing." Unionists often balk at the latter. They fear tying pay to performance could be used to undermine their goal of secure, adequate wages, or lead to a stronger worker identification with the firm than with fellow workers.

Babbitt's approach to workplace democracy emphasizes structural changes within business, brought about by government incentives and contracts more than com-

prehensive regulation. He shares the neoliberal faith in a dynamic marketplace. (He frequently declares Marxism "dead" and trumpets a new American century of global open markets and democracy.) But he says he wants to guarantee that market forces do not wreak havoc on workers. For example, he wants to see expanded international trade, partly spurred by reducing Third-World debt-service payments. But rather than rely on fair trade rules or actions to reduce bilateral trade imbalances, he favors a requirement that major countries maintain an overall, multilateral balance of imports and exports.

But he argues it is necessary worldwide "to find common standards, to prevent the downward cycle of wage-cutting competition, which lowers demand and ultimately undermines the whole concept of where we want to go." But setting such standards might mean international agreements that establish some relationship between wages and productivity. At present, workers in newly industrializing countries receive wages far out of line with productivity.

Misplaced faith: Babbitt's marketplace faith, however, does not adequately take into account the power and practices of multinational giants. But even if he does not follow Jackson's lead in attacking the export of jobs, he is willing to lambast corporate outlaws and to talk about changing control over investment. Instead of current law that requires corporate directors to demonstrate financial trustworthiness only to stockholders, Babbitt said, "directors [should also] have some fiduciary responsibility to workers."

Government loans and contracts should go only to companies that restructure themselves toward greater workplace democracy, he said. Even government regulation of pension funds could be leverage for greater democracy and worker ownership. Babbitt wants to use the White House to encourage the evolution of a trend, not set statutory directives.

Although he supports a six-month advance notice to workers about plant closings, he says the real issue is not that of plant closings but of job security—a focus on the people, not the physical assets. Typical of Babbitt's market orientation, his response reflects inattention to how plant closings are used as political threats and how disinvestment often works. He resists any industrial policy involving labor-management-government decision-making or government capital allocation on the grounds that the "style and culture of American democracy" preclude the necessary political discipline for such policies. Yet he seems aware of problems involved in "moving assets where you are destroying job bases in existing firms," such as a steel company buying oil companies and abandoning the steel business. Unlike Jackson he has not spoken out clearly on such abuses.

Babbitt's workplace democracy ideas are far from complete and far from perfect. They rely too heavily on markets, too little on public planning. Sometimes they seem pitched to the enlightened manager or intellectual more than the average worker. But Babbitt is right about the economic and political importance of workplace democracy. The challenge now is to expand and refine the concept, to extend it to economic democracy, and to create its political base. □

By Brian Jacobs

IN THE WAKE OF A \$593 BILLION CATCH-ALL SPENDING bill for fiscal year 1988 that became law in December, environmentalists are celebrating a small but veritable victory. Nestled inside the 2,100-page legislation is environmental language addressing, for the first time, the relationship between the debt crisis and Third World environmental destruction—particularly the deforestation of tropical rain forests.

A key clause in the bill requires the U.S. Treasury Department to explore ways in which the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) can promote debt-relief in exchange for conservation in developing countries. The provision's inclusion re-

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sulted from prodding by human-rights and environmental groups, including the Environmental Defense Fund and the National Wildlife Federation.

The groups had good reason to take action. More than 40 percent of the world's rain forests have already been destroyed, and the rest is threatened with annihilation in the next few decades. Much of this devastation results from ill-planned development schemes intended to bring about short-term economic benefits—often as part of the effort to service foreign debt—at tragic environmental expense. In this development process, thousands of indigenous inhabitants have been displaced or have suffered encroachment from outsiders.

The Bolivian breakthrough: The "debt-for-conservation" clause is part of the appropriation for the U.S. contribution to the Multilateral Development Banks (MDBs), a group of international lending institutions of which the World Bank is the largest and most influential. Supporters of the provision had to win over Congress as well as the Treasury Department, which represents U.S. interests at the MDBs and IMF. That, according to organizers, was no easy task.

The effort, however, gained momentum last July when Bolivia agreed to protect about 4 million acres of forests in exchange for a \$650,000 reduction of its private debt, thereby becoming the first country to swap debt relief for conservation.

Soon after, Rep. John Porter (R-IL) introduced legislation requiring the Treasury to pressure the World Bank and IMF to set up their own debt-forgiveness program. The proposal was soon picked up by Rep. David Obey (D-WI) and Sen. Robert Kasten (R-WI). Treasury Secretary James Baker, however, was set against any plan that would require the MDBs to forgive debt. In a letter to Kasten, Baker argued that "the absolute policy in each institution (World Bank and IMF) against forgiving or rescheduling financial obligations has not been altered in more than 40 years...any change in this policy would undermine the confidence of investors in the securities issued by the banks—raising the cost and lowering the quantity of funds available to the banks and their borrowers."

Baker prevailed and forced the legislation's supporters into a revision. The rewrite—which was approved by Congress—will encourage the MDBs to promote private bank debt-forgiveness for conservation. In essence, the MDBs will be encouraged to act as mediators and facilitators between host countries and private banks, but will forego reduction or forgiveness themselves. The



More than 40 percent of the world's rain forests have already been destroyed.

World Bank and IMF to encourage debt-for-conservation swaps

Environmental Defense Fund's Bruce Rich, the head of the campaign, was the principal rewriter of the bill and sees little loss in the compromise. "The MDB debt," he comments, "is fairly insignificant in terms of the debt burden of the tropical rain forest countries. By far the greatest part of the debt is the private bank debt."

Prods: It is still too early to tell what effect the bill will have. The Treasury is now required to prepare a study and submit a plan of action by April 1, but the faithfulness with which the mandate is carried out remains to be seen. Barbara Bramble, director of the international program at the National Wildlife Federation, is one who believes "the Treasury will have to be prodded to take it seriously," adding that she and other environmentalists "intend to prod."

Perhaps the largest problem in the debt-for-conservation swaps—or in fact debt-for-equity swaps in general—is that they can only constitute a small fraction of the debt relief. In the case of Bolivia, for example, the \$650,000 reduction was only a small part of that country's \$4 billion external debt. The stakes will have to be much higher before countries like Brazil find they have more to gain from preserving the land, rather than exploiting it for short-term economic gains. And it is unlikely that private banks will be willing to give up larger amounts of debt.

A tragic shortcut: In fact, Brazil is in the process of graphically illustrating how the need for quick cash to service their debt is leading to wholesale destruction of their tropical forests. In a Northwest region of Brazil's Amazon, pig iron plants are being built with planned obsolescence. Because the world market prices for pig iron—a substance later converted to steel, cast iron or wrought iron—are so glutted and depressed,

the only viable way to fuel the plants is by using primary rain forest trees around the plants, according to Bramble. And so, rather than have one large plant, the Brazilian authorities decided to build three smaller ones, spacing them out over hundreds of miles, and thereby better utilizing the trees.

Even with this tragic energy shortcut, an astonishing 57 percent of the total pig iron production costs will be for fuel, according to Bramble. Moreover, almost 80 percent of all the workers at the plant will be involved in cutting and transporting the trees. Within a few years the plants will no longer be

A new bill requires the U.S. Treasury Department to explore ways in which the World Bank and the IMF can promote debt-relief in exchange for conservation in developing countries.

economically viable because the trees will be too far away to be transported. By then, it is estimated that hundreds of thousands of square miles will be deforested. As Barbara Bramble points out, "everyone knows it's a short-term, quick-hit, destroy the Amazon—who cares, there's plenty of Amazon—solution. And when they run out [of rain forest], they run out." Such practice is, as Nicholas Guppy has pointed out in *Foreign Affairs*, "a means of avoiding tackling real

problems by pursuing chimeras: a 'license to print money' that yields quick cash results at the cost of ultimate catastrophe."

Developing into disaster: For environmental and human-rights groups trying to protect the rain forests and the Indians living in them, the debt crisis is only a part of the problem. And tying the World Bank and other MDBs into debt-conservation swaps is most importantly a way of forcibly raising its environmental consciousness—in the hope that they fund more responsible development projects.

Indeed, it is World Bank-funded projects like the Polonoroeste frontier settlement in western Brazil that has caused unprecedented rain forest destruction. Pat Adams, director of the Canadian group Probe International, notes that that project "will see the clearing of an area of the Amazon forest the size of Great Britain by 1990." In India, the Narmada River Development Scheme, another World Bank project, will submerge 875,000 acres of forest and displace 67,000 of the land's inhabitants. These projects are some of the more egregious examples of an ongoing development debacle that, as one observer put it, "can be compared only to the extinction of the dinosaurs."

Whether or not the World Bank is truly on the move to more responsible project loans—or whether in fact, as a development institution, it is capable of genuine reform—can only be vaguely assessed. There is no doubt, however, that it is an institution vulnerable to public opinion—particularly U.S. public opinion, as the U.S. is by far the largest of its donors. Last May, World Bank President Barber Conable announced the formation of a top-level environmental department as a response to mounting pressures in the U.S.,

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WHILE THE WINTER WINDS BLOW ACROSS lower Manhattan, this city's mayor, Edward Koch, reminds the press inside City Hall how popular he remains. Forget the corruption scandals, withering race relations, debilitated schools—the people still love him.

Tell that to the city's 80,000 homeless. Cramped in seedy welfare hotels, warehoused in dreary shelters or living by their wits on the streets, the homeless have become "the problem" the mayor cannot boast away. His plans and pronouncements about the homeless have polarized the city for years.

Just eight days after New York's Board of Estimate approved Koch's city-wide shelter plan for the homeless last August, a homeless couple sleeping in Brooklyn's Prospect Park was set ablaze by several teenagers. The act did not seem surprising in the wake of the battle over the shelter plan. A critical debate on social policy turned into a test of Koch's political muscle.

The shelter plan, first announced in October of 1986, called for building 20 transitional shelters, four in each of the city's five boroughs. Critics quickly charged that by building transitional shelters the mayor was ignoring the basic point: there isn't nearly enough low-income housing in the city. Says Bill Groth, a housing relocation specialist for the Single Parent Resource Center, "The first response of the homeless was 'transitional to where?'" Families staying in the welfare hotels must wait a minimum of 18 months before becoming eligible for city-owned housing. The wait for an apartment from the city's public housing authority now approaches 20 years. Affordable, privately owned rental housing is a rare commodity.

When Koch announced the shelter plan few details were provided, except that some \$100 million in public funds would be allocated to building new shelters. Ten months later, as the plan came before the Board of Estimate, Brooklyn Borough President Howard Golden complained the mayor could still not provide answers to basic questions on design and cost.

But advocates were pleased that the mayor, after some eight years in office, was finally proposing a plan and freeing capital budget dollars for the homeless. The stage was quickly set, however, for the type of negotiations the mayor would soon enter.

Let's make a deal: Staten Island Borough President Ralph Lamberti struck a deal with the mayor: instead of building four shelters they agreed to the construction of a maximum-security jail on Staten Island. Borough officials admitted they preferred a locked jail to homeless people free to walk their streets.

While Staten Island officials cut their deal, community leaders throughout the other boroughs responded angrily to the shelter plan. Rather than deal-making, most of them were looking for alternative plans to provide permanent housing for the homeless. Most of those alternative proposals focused on the 4,300 vacant buildings the city owns. Housing activists and Board of Estimate members like Manhattan Borough President David Dinkins and Comptroller Harrison Goldin forged plans to spend the money Koch earmarked for transitional shelters on rehabbing city-owned apartments for permanent housing.

Many community leaders supported these alternatives, citing the inhumane conditions

Koch can't boast away NYC homeless shelter shortfalls



NEW YORK

Women at Olivieri Center, a drop-in center in Manhattan for homeless women.

in the city's congregate shelters. But Koch claimed opponents to his shelter plan simply did not want the homeless living in their communities. The fact that the homeless themselves dreaded the city's shelters mattered little. The term NIMBY—"Not in My Back Yard"—became the mayor's ready refrain for dismissing community opposition to the shelters.

"He picks a germ of a truth and then distorts it," says Beth Gorrie, associate director of the Coalition for the Homeless. Many communities' leaders contend their neighborhoods have become dumping grounds for the city's homeless population. Of the 56 community boards throughout the city, only 17 contain shelters. Many of the 17, like Bedford-Stuyvesant, contain more than one shelter and are themselves poor communities struggling with already over-strained social service resources.

While Koch may have been right to characterize some of the opposition to the shelter plan as NIMBY, his own policies and pronouncements helped promote negative response. He also ignored another fact: his administration repeatedly failed to respond to plans put forth by community boards eager to help the homeless.

Most of the plans involve rehabbing vacant, city-owned apartments. While a small-scale rehab program does exist, it functions almost in spite of itself. Koch has often said that if the city provides decent places to live, more and more people would make themselves homeless.

Promises, promises: As the time for the Board of Estimate vote on the shelter plan approached, the mayor was still shy the necessary number of votes. In the city's

quirky system, which is under court-ordered review, the three city-wide officials (mayor, city council president and comptroller) get two votes each and the borough presidents one apiece. With the comptroller firmly opposed to the plan, Koch needed another borough president to come on board.

While Bonnie Brower, executive director of the Association for Neighborhood Housing and Development, was describing the plan as "a proposal without any constituency as well as any merits" at the Board of Estimate's public hearing, Koch was cajoling his colleagues for that last vote.

Yet some critics were beginning to think that the mayor actually wanted his own plan shot down. At the public hearing Gorrie charged, "I believe that the mayor seeks not to create decent shelter or decent housing; he seeks only to create a smokescreen. Rather than assume a responsible position of forthright, enlightened leadership, the administration seeks to shift blame to communities (and their borough presidents) who dare to articulate concerns and to identify alternatives. He's not creating shelter and he's not creating housing. Rather the mayor is manipulating opposition to thwart his own pose."

In fact, the mayor was having success with David Dinkins, the borough president who had been one of his harshest critics. Elected in 1985 as the first black Board of Estimate member in 12 years, Dinkins had forged a comprehensive alternative homeless housing plan and had been a leader among elected officials in fighting the city's shelter policies. Dinkins traded his vote for the elimination of three of the proposed Manhattan shelters and a city commitment to rehab

1,000 more vacant apartments. Many, including Dinkins, had criticized such rehab efforts in the past.

Later, Dinkins defended his move, saying it was better to get some sort of shelter started than have nothing. But Koch's concern for the homeless was not apparent. In the rotunda at City Hall, the mayor celebrated a "grand slam" over his Board of Estimate opponents. Several days later he ordered his aides and commissioners not to extend normal courtesies to the three other borough presidents.

By fall the mayor was declaring himself the city's "number one social worker." To prove the point he sent vans to round up the mentally ill homeless. While he boasted of his compassion for them, he obscured the real issues. True, a considerable number of mentally ill were on the street, partly because of the state's poorly executed plan to get people out of the institutions. But many of the mentally ill were on the streets because the inexpensive single-room-occupancy hotels that had been their homes were lost to developers' wrecking balls, the direct result of Koch policies.

The roundup also threw a smokescreen over another fact: the fastest growing group of homeless is families. More than 5,000 New York families are now officially homeless—with thousands more doubled up in apartments with friends or relatives or living in substandard housing.

Roundup backfires: Despite a wealth of mayoral publicity, the roundup soon ran aground. The first person hauled in, Joyce Brown, challenged her forced stay in Bellevue. In court Brown turned out to be quite lucid—she simply preferred the streets to the city's shelters, a judgment many would support. She also said she'd be quite happy to leave the streets if she could find an affordable apartment.

The roundup soon hit another bump. It seemed the vans rarely ventured out of the city's higher-income neighborhoods. Brown was picked up in Manhattan's posh Upper East Side neighborhood and others were snagged in midtown or other business districts. But if the mayor hoped to sweep the homeless out of view, he made a critical mistake. Only 28 beds were available at Bellevue and the city's mental hospitals were already at capacity. After a series of court hearings Brown was released—all the publicity surrounding her case also won her a place to live.

Several of Koch's Board of Estimate colleagues, badly out of favor with the administration and fed up with his posturing, filed suit in the State Supreme Court to stop another shelter plan. The suit charges that the plan finally passed by the Board was so different from the one put forward at public hearings that its passage violated state and city laws.

Few take stock in a five-year plan recently released by the city's Human Resources Administration that says the city will stop using welfare hotels. Previously such declarations have been made and ignored.

Borough Presidents Claire Shulman, Fernando Ferrer and Golden hope their lawsuit will force the mayor to resume negotiations on how to best proceed with a comprehensive policy for housing the homeless. But the mayor continues to see the issue as a test of political will. "We beat them," says Koch. "Isn't that right? Didn't I beat them?"

Doug Turetsky is managing editor of *City Limits*, a New York city housing and community development publication.

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

WILL HE OR WON'T HE? THREE MONTHS from the French presidential elections, political life here hangs on this question: will Francois Mitterrand heed the supplications of his people and run for a second seven-year term?

Twenty years after a new left generation erupted in the May 1968 revolt against the "elective monarchy" occupied by General Charles de Gaulle, the French left is practically reduced to humble pleas to its own monarch to continue his elective reign.

Since the left lost its parliamentary majority in March 1986, the French government has in fact been run by conservative Prime Minister Jacques Chirac. Oddly enough, upon losing effectiveness, Mitterrand began to soar in the popularity polls. The somewhat derisive nickname of "Tonton" (familiar for uncle, as in the Haitian "Tonton Macoute") pinned on the Socialist president by the satirical weekly *Le Canard Enchaîné* has become a term of endearment. The winter fashion in Paris is "Tontonmania," a chorus of acclamation echoing throughout the media. Everybody wants Tonton to stay.

The disgrace of Marxism has virtually silenced public analysis or even curiosity about the real power structures that manipulate modern politics. They exist nonetheless, even if terms like "the bourgeoisie" or "the ruling class" are out and "the establishment" never came in. In France as in other countries, there is a moneyed elite with more than a purely democratic share of influence over politicians and the media. The basic desires of these gray eminences are no mystery: they want France to be stable enough to attract foreign investment. They want a government that doesn't try to do too much, and a population that doesn't expect much.

The best sort of government for business, in France or almost anywhere else, is a nice centrist coalition of center-left and center-right.

For some time, the French media have been visibly promoting two political projects that go in that direction: the Mitterrand monarchy and a centrist majority scared together by the far right.

The Mitterrand monarchy: Charles de Gaulle reigned as a monarch with power. Mitterrand, for his part, has revealed the advantages of a powerless monarchy, such as in Great Britain. This was forced on him by the game of "cohabitation" with Jacques Chirac. He proved suited to it by his gifted use of the French language's rich capacity for ambiguity. Just as the British are comforted by the conviction that Queen Elizabeth secretly disapproves of Margaret Thatcher's heartlessness, so too the French are comforted by subtle signs that their president really cares about human rights and social injustice—even if he is powerless.

On January 16, 100 days before the first round of the two-round French presidential elections, Chirac formally declared his candidacy, trying to force Mitterrand down from his presidential cloud and into the arena. A few days later Mitterrand, more presidential than ever, welcomed 76 Nobel Prize winners into his gilded Elysée palace to meditate aloud on "Threats and Promises of the 21st Century."

The conference exemplified the Mitterrand presidency's seemingly unbeatable

Latest fashion is Mitterrand-mania

tone of benevolent elitism. "Paris is the world capital of intellectual brilliance," the media announced. At the conference the French president reassured his Nobel laureate guests that "nobody here, I am sure, is seeking to benefit from your prestige." Mitterrand's good friend Elie Wiesel hosted the conference with just the tone of helpless

FRANCE

good intentions that suits Mitterrandian benevolent elitism. "We have no power," Wiesel stressed innocently.

The meek are blessed, and Jean Daniel has just published a new book tracing Mitterrand's social attitudes to traditional conservative Catholic distrust of "the power of money."

Meanwhile, Mitterrand's most stylish groupies, former culture minister Jack Lang and former prime minister Laurent Fabius, have been rounding up a cheering section of Parisian radical chic to plead with "Tonton" not to abandon them. Movie star Gérard Depardieu announced in a full-page slick magazine ad that for the first time in his life, he was even ready to go so far as to vote in order to keep Mitterrand.

Socialism, or the left, or whatever Mitterrand is supposed to stand for is now above all a "sensitivity."

It is as if somewhere, the angels made a deal with the devil about France. The left is dead, but gets to go to heaven—that is, to the Elysée.

Creating the center: Some day books will be written recounting exactly when, where and who decided to use the liberal media in France to help "create" Le Pen. Meanwhile, the effects of this strategy are in plain sight.

Jean-Marie Le Pen is an old war horse of the extreme right, a skillful demagogue who for years was kept on the margins of political life, thanks in large part to a post-war consensus among respectable opinion-molders to exclude anything smacking of fascism or Nazism. If the taboo was lifted in the '80s, it is at least in part because of two political calculations. One is that the danger of fascism belongs to the historical past, and that the National Front can be contained within

safe limits. The other is that fear of Le Pen can serve to create a stable political "center" in France.

The mechanism is simple. Le Pen's National Front splits the right-wing vote. Even if the right and far right together have a big majority of seats in parliament, the respectable conservative parties, Chirac's RPR (Rally for the Republic) and the squabbling components of the umbrella UDF (Union for French Democracy), may not be able to form a government without Le Pen's National Front.

Such a coalition would be intolerable to many conservatives, starting with Simone Veil, who as a child was deported to Auschwitz. Thus, the scenario goes, parts of the UDF and perhaps the RPR as well would seek a coalition with the Socialist Party. The solid centrist coalition would be born.

This would complete the Socialist Party's detachment from the left. The resulting center would be totally moderate, wisely taking the advice of far-sighted business leaders, multinationals and financial circles to make France a friendly place for investment.

Trial run: This scenario has already been having its trial run in the provinces. Last December it was tried out in the regional council of Champagne-Ardenne, whose president is Bernard Stasi (UDF). Stasi's enlightened opinion that immigration is not a burden but "an opportunity for France" has made him a target of attacks by Le Pen's National Front. Thus the five National Front representatives in Champagne-Ardenne refused to vote for Stasi's budget when it came up on December 22.

Stasi could count on only a relative majority of 23 UDF and RPR conservatives. The left opposition counts 15 Socialists and four Communists. At the last minute, several Socialists abstained rather than "vote with the National Front." This created a de facto center between the "two extremes," Communists and Le Pen. The Socialists, however, got nothing for it.

Only the sacred duty of opposing racism could make this palatable to Socialist voters.

A week before the vote, the Socialist Party officially confirmed its opposition to the Champagne-Ardenne budget. But party Secretary Lionel Jospin used the occasion to

plea for abstention, on the grounds that Socialists must not join the National Front in causing difficulties for a man like Stasi. Socialists answered that this attitude made the National Front the masters of the political game, able to determine how Socialists would vote.

But Socialists had second thoughts when they saw how the media treated the issue. Jospin's position was presented as more "moral" in contrast to the mere "political" concern about the budget.

By reviving and exploiting racism, Le Pen enables the Socialist Party to maintain its "left" identity simply by concentrating on the single issue of opposition to Le Pen's racism. All other issues seem secondary when it comes to uniting against Auschwitz.

Some Socialists are unhappy at losing their left identity. To comfort them, Jean Poperen has created a new "left" current in the Socialist Party. Specifically, the Poperen current wants the newly elected president—presumably Mitterrand—to call for new elections, in hopes that the "dynamic" of his victory would bring in a left parliamentary majority, as in 1981, able to form a left government.

This would sound more convincing if Socialist leaders were doing anything to build a real left majority. On the contrary, Jospin seems to have struck a tacit deal with the moribund Communist Party to kill the campaign of Communist renovator Pierre Juquin by depriving him of the 500 signatures of elected officials required by law for candidacy.

For the smart money, the election results are already clear. Mitterrand will be re-elected and preside over a centrist coalition government of conservatives and Socialists.

Three people would like to upset the strategy of the centrist tranquilizers. Raymond Barre, the conservative candidate, would simply like to be the centrist tranquilizer himself. The following are the spoilsports.

- Jacques Chirac. He wants to be president, and an activist president at that. His dynamism may yet defeat the self-satisfied somnolence of Raymond Barre in the first round on April 24. He is far behind Mitterrand in the polls, but has been gaining. Chirac's Interior Minister Charles Pasqua is reportedly scouring the closets of the Elysée for skeletons to bring out in the open before the May 8 runoff.

- Michel Rocard. He would still like to be the Socialist candidate for President, but has little chance unless God or Pasqua come up with a really big surprise at the last minute. Rocard would probably lose, but his candidacy would bring the campaign down from the throne.

- Pierre Juquin. The "renovator" is raising the political issues that are the stuff of the left in other countries, and suggesting a new approach to politics, without the party structures of the past or the excessive personalization of the current presidential race. If he succeeds in making an honorable showing in the first round, political life could be renewed in France, with a real left.

There is also the possibility that the Tontonmaniacs are making Mitterrand peak too soon. By May 8 the fashion could change. □

Clockwise from upper left: Le Pen, Mitterrand, Rocard and Chirac



Bush

Continued from page 3

contras. Also in 1982, Felix Rodriguez, Gregg's former CIA colleague who later took part in the covert resupply effort, formulated a plan requesting U.S. assistance for air strikes in Central America against leftist insurgents, according to a report in *U.S. News & World Report*. A 1983 Gregg memo to McFarlane promoted this plan. Rodriguez would later become a key operative in the resupply effort.

And although Bush pleads ignorance about the contra operation, he was apparently considered an important player by McFarlane. The former national security adviser testified that when he learned of Saudi Arabia's intention to donate millions to the contras in the spring of 1984, the first person he informed, besides the president, was none other than George Bush.

Further evidence of Bush's apparent knowledge is found in a September 18, 1984, memo Gregg wrote to Bush through an aide on the subject of "funding for the contras." Specifics on individuals and amounts involved in the funding effort, the memo explained, were furnished by the CIA's Duane (Dewey) Clarridge, who would become another key figure in the scandal.

In February 1985 the head of the U.S. Southern Command, Gen. Paul Gorman, wrote to other U.S. officials in Central America about Rodriguez. Rodriguez was officially in the region to help fight the insurgency in El Salvador, but Gorman wrote that Rodriguez told him that his "primary commitment in the region [was] in [word deleted] where he wants to assist the FDN

[contras]." Gorman noted that Rodriguez's "acquaintanceship with the VP is real enough, going back to latter's days as DCI [director of central intelligence]." Bush insists that he never discussed the contras with Rodriguez. But documents show Gregg was in close contact with Rodriguez during this period, a time when Congress had outlawed U.S. aid—direct or indirect—to the contras.

North winds: On September 10, 1985, according to a notation in Oliver North's notebooks introduced in the final congressional report, Gregg met with North and Col. James Steele, the U.S. military adviser in El Salvador. The report notes that, "among the discussion topics North listed was a 'Calero/Bermudez [contra leaders] visit to [the air base] to establish logistical support/maintenance.'" The "air base" was a supply point for the contras in El Salvador. Steele also called North on September 16 to ask about obtaining Rodriguez's help with aircraft maintenance.

Just two months later, Bush sent a handwritten note to North in which he praised his "dedication and tireless work with the hostage thing and with Central America." Gregg told Congress that the vice president must have been referring to help North provided on Bush's trip to Central America in 1983—two years earlier—not to the illegal contra operation.

In another item indicating the connection with Bush's office, the committee released a North notebook entry from January 9, 1986, saying, "Felix talking too much about VP connection."

During the same month Gregg's deputy, Lt. Col. Samuel Watson, made a trip to Cen-

tral America, which included a visit to contra camps, where he learned that the resupply effort was underway. Watson's visits to the camps were among the items initially left off Gregg's December 1987 chronology. This information apparently contradicts Gregg's claims that the first inkling he got of Rodriguez's connection to the resupply effort came in August 1986. According to a report by David Hoffman in the *Washington Post*, Watson prepared a report on his trip in February, noting problems he saw with the resupply mission. Gregg reportedly wrote in the margin: "Felix would agree with this."

A document released under the Freedom of Information Act adds to the evidence that Gregg was very much in touch with the contra issue. The document is a cover memo from the State Department forwarding notes from a February 13, 1986, meeting of the "Senior Interagency Group No. 54." Although the purpose and makeup of the group is unclear, the memo indicates that the subject of the meeting was "Humanitarian Assistance for Nicaraguan Resistance Forces." First on the list of recipients of the memo is Gregg.

Strong evidence: Perhaps the most direct evidence unearthed by the committee of a Bush connection to the contras was a series of scheduling proposals for a May 1, 1986, meeting between the vice president and Rodriguez. These documents show that the two were to discuss "...resupply of the contras." However, participants at the meeting insist the subject never came up and committee lawyers failed to resolve conflicting testimony as to how the phrase wound up on the memos.

Another connection between Bush's office and the contra operation comes from a meeting Gregg attended on May 16, 1986, with the National Security Planning Group, a senior administration policy-making body. Poindexter presented information at the meeting on funding for the contras. Gregg and Rodriguez met on August 8, 1986, (another fact omitted from the original Gregg chronology) for what Gregg insists was their first discussion of the contras. And on October 5 and 6, 1986, in the wake of contra resupply operative Eugene Hasenfus' plane crash, Rodriguez telephoned Gregg's office (reaching Watson both times) to inform him of the ill-fated plane's disappearance.

In each case, Gregg maintains that the issues were not "vice presidential" and that he and Watson therefore never discussed them with Bush at any time.

More misinformation: Clearly, serious questions remain for the vice president as he makes his run for the White House. But Bush does not appear willing to handle these questions in a serious way. In defending himself before the media, the vice president is quick to cite page 502 of the congressional Iran-contra report, a passage that gives him a clean bill of health. But Bush does not point out that page 502 is from the probe's minority report. That document, signed by eight loyal Reagan Republicans, was called "pathetic" by another GOP lawmaker on the panel. The majority report gives Bush no such pass on Iran-contra.

So the questions will not go away. If Bush is to truly put Iran-contra behind him, he will not only have to start offering real answers, but also make sure those answers jibe with the written record. So far, they do not. ☐

Jeff Nason and Malcolm Byrne are editors of *The Chronology: The Documented Day-by-Day Account of the Secret Military Assistance to Iran and the Contras* (Warner Books, 1987).

Rain Forest

Continued from page 7

noting that "sound ecology is good economics."

Skeptics like Walden Bello, of the San Francisco-based group Food First, see such moves as "window dressing" that will have little bearing on real policy. "They can make adjustments at the margin," Bello adds, "but they can't make changes in terms of fundamental policy constraining private enterprise, the multinationals or the national elite—and these interests are just wreaking havoc with the environment."

Sharing the blame: Even World Bank officials admit the end of environmental destruction is nowhere in sight. Umu Lele, director of special programs at the World Bank, sees the culpability, however, within the host country rather than her own institution. "There isn't adequate understanding [in the developing countries]," she said, "as to why there is environmental damage of such massive proportion—more damage than can be accounted for by the corrupt behavior of a few policy-makers." Moreover, she argues, the population of Third World nations "is going to increase. In order to increase, they are going to destroy a lot of their environment. It's inevitable. And until the day when one finds ways by which just survival of these people is ensured by ways that don't encroach upon the environment, this isn't going to change."

But increasingly, the environmental issue is being seen as a survival issue. Guppy notes that "each time we read of floods, landslides, starvation, and loss of life in India, Brazil, the Philippines, Haiti, East Africa and elsewhere in the tropics, we are reading about problems caused or exacerbated by environmental destruction, often of rain forests." To Food First's Bello, these catastrophes will inevitably lead to a higher environmental consciousness among indigenous people. "What is the alternative," he comments, "when your rice field can't be irrigated because of erosion due to deforestation?"

Political space: By pressuring the World Bank into the debt-for-conservation swaps, if only as a secondary participant, U.S. environmental groups are, in Bruce Rich's words, "creating a kind of political space which makes all kinds of things happen." And not least of the things this space has affected, according to Rich, is the "extraordinarily impressive proliferation and growth of various grass-roots, non-governmental organizations in developing countries."

The World Bank furnishes non-governmental organizations with so much political leverage, that even groups ideologically opposed to the institution prefer it remain intact—at least for now. As Barbara Bramble explains, "the World Bank doesn't control development in the world. What we are using them for is an example—to beat over the head other development institutions, aid agencies and the Third World government themselves." But perhaps the bank's most useful function is simply as a focus. "The World Bank is very visible," Bramble continues, "and it has become a symbol of so much. It's a symbol of development strategy over the last 30 years, of the imperialist domination of the Third World, and of the financial establishment in general. It's a symbol of all those things, and if we didn't have it, we would have nothing to simply explain all the things we're against." ☐

Brian Jacobs writes often on environmental issues.



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By Gregory Goldin

LOS ANGELES

A PARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA IS EVERY bit as repressive today as it was in 1984 when Bishop Desmond Tutu was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Pretoria appears more determined than ever to hold on to power no matter what the cost. Under the state of emergency, township youths continue to fill the jails and, with nightmarish clockwork, the graveyards. Demonstrations, spontaneous or otherwise, are strictly *verboden*. Political leaders, such as recently released African National Congress (ANC) official Govan Mbeki—who was imprisoned on a life sentence for treason 25 years ago along with ANC leader Nelson Mandela—are banned from public life and relegated to an internal exile of silence and poverty. Press censorship keeps a tight lid on the dissemination of news, inside and out.

War with the frontline states—Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana—provides South Africa with a lever of destabilization, helping apartheid to maintain the illusion that decolonized Africa is intent on toppling a pro-Western government. Anchored by granite intransigence, the ruling Afrikaners face the certain future of black rule dressed in full riot gear. The lessons of Zimbabwe (formerly white-ruled Rhodesia), where the head of state, Robert Mugabe, made a successful transition to black rule, have escaped Pretoria.

In such a situation truth is always the first casualty. Who speaks for the disenfranchised majority of South Africa?

Allan Boesak, 41, is a founder of the United Democratic Front (UDF), the umbrella grouping of South African opposition organizations. He is one leader to emerge in the decade that has passed since the murder of Steven Biko. Boesak is a black minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, the denomination that has provided Afrikaners with the spiritual and practical underpinning of apartheid. As UDF head he has been jailed for subversion because he planned a march to Pollsmoor Prison near Cape Town to demand the release of Nelson Mandela. Boesak



Rev. Allan Boesak

is also president of the World Alliance of Reform Churches, which has condemned apartheid as "heresy" and a "sin toward mankind." In a land where every political leader is imprisoned or exiled, banned or underground, Boesak, like Desmond Tutu, has used the pulpit as a soapbox.

In *These Times* interviewed Boesak while he was in Los Angeles to deliver a Christmas Eve sermon on the plight of the more than 1,000 children held in South African prisons.

Does South African President P.W. Botha's government have any choice but to let Nelson Mandela out of prison?

In the end, no. They're postponing the inevitable.



Woman at UDF rally the night after the lifting of the state of emergency in 1986.

Boesak on the South African tempest

What will his release mean? He's been in prison for 25 years, and one has to ask if he is still a political leader.

I have no doubt about that. They first thought they could do what they did with [South-West Africa People's Organization official] Toivo ya Toivo in Namibia. When they let him out [after 17 years] nothing happened. But when Mandela comes out there will not be a void like there was in Namibia. The UDF has prepared a stage for Mandela. Everybody knows him. The younger kids, the genera-

tions that were born after the man had been sent to prison, they know Mandela. There is no doubt that Mandela will be the political leader. And there is no doubt that the people will make very clear that they would rather have him as president of South Africa than P.W. Botha.

White South Africans say that if the ANC and Mandela come to power, they'll repeat what has happened in every de-colonized black African nation: tribal warfare, bloody coups and so forth.

They're lying. White people in South Africa are not afraid that we will emulate the Mau Mau (Kenya's violent black uprising in the '50s). They are afraid that we will imitate [South Africa's ruling] National Party. They are afraid that we will do exactly the same to them that they have done to us.

Isn't that possible? After all, the ANC is committed, if necessary, to the violent overthrow of apartheid.

If you talk about a real revolutionary move-

Continued on following page

Branching out: new strategies for the Free South Africa Movement

CHICAGO—On January 15 a small group of marchers demonstrated outside of the South African consulate here, linking the birthdate—and thus the legacy—of Dr. Martin Luther King to protests against South Africa's apartheid government. The demonstration was further testimony to the perseverance of Free South Africa Movement's (FSAM) members, many of whom have conducted weekly demonstrations outside the consulate for more than two years.

But the group's small size was evidence of the South African government's success in lowering its profile by censoring news coming out of the country. According to protest organizers, South Africa's stringent press censorship is largely responsible for the U.S. public's dwindling interest in that country's racist repression of its black majority.

"There's no doubt that South Africa's news blackout is dampening protests all over the country," said Robert Starks, chairman of the Chicago-area FSAM. "But there are other factors as well. The Reagan-sponsored myth that the sanctions we struggled for have not worked is confusing a lot of people who abhor apartheid but don't know how to fight it."

Conversely, there's a perception that because of the sanctions imposed on South Africa and the exodus of several U.S. companies from that troubled land, anti-apartheid protests were successful. "We were somewhat successful in forcing those minimum changes," Starks said, "but things

in South Africa have gotten worse" (see story on page 12).

In recent months FSAM has shifted its emphasis from a one-dimensional focus on South Africa to a broader concern with the regional problems of southern Africa. Movement leaders contend the U.S. and South Africa are combining forces to destabilize the so-called front line states. In Angola and Mozambique, South Africa is flagrantly sponsoring proxy armies, while in the U.S. congressional conservatives are mounting campaigns to fund the insurgent groups by using the appeal of anti-communism.

"We believe that there is a system of governmental misconduct in this country's southern Africa policy that is much worse than that revealed in the Iran-contra scandal," Starks said. FSAM has tried to convince media sources to follow the trail, partially revealed in congressional testimony during the Iran-contra hearings, of covert activity in southern Africa. But according to movement leaders, there is little interest in exposing U.S. links to terrorism in that region.

In attempts to remedy that situation, Proxy Nesbitt, formerly an articulate leader of the Chicago-area anti-apartheid movement, has been hired as a congressional lobbyist for the government of Mozambique. Nesbitt said he will try to pierce the anti-communist hysteria that passes for geopolitical analysis and present the case of Mozambicans who have been ravaged by South African-sponsored terrorism for

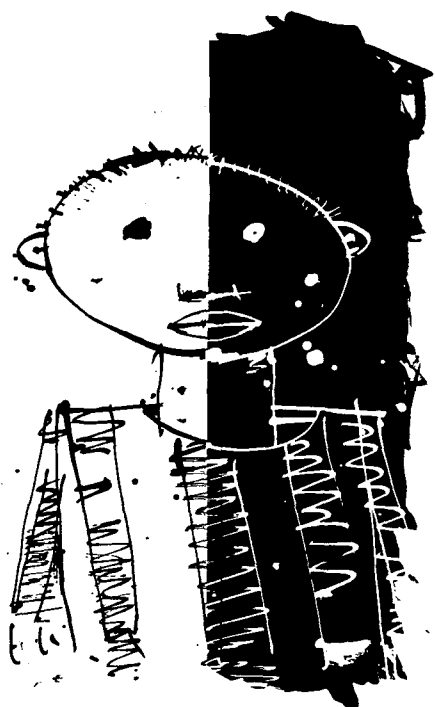
more than a decade. Already Nesbitt has revealed RENAMO's role in halting Red Cross emergency food airlifts to drought-stricken communities in Mozambique.

The U.S. is aiding South Africa and UNITA, its ally, in destabilizing Angola. The pattern of terror within the two countries is disturbingly similar. U.S.-made Stinger missiles are suspected in the 1987 crash of a Red Cross plane bringing food and medicine to the more than 100,000 refugees of the U.S.- and South African-sponsored civil war in Angola. The Red Cross has since suspended its efforts.

Another shift noted by Starks was a broadening of concerns to include other victims of occupation and state terrorism. "We also marched on the Israeli embassy on Dr. King's birthday," he explained, adding that he believed Israel's brutal occupation of the Palestinian homeland is on a par with South Africa's policies. "And Israel remains the major violator of the U.S. embargo on arms to South Africa."

By finding common cause with Palestinians protesting Israel's stormtrooper tactics in the occupied West Bank and the Gaza Strip, FSAM leaders realize it risks alienating backers who may deplore apartheid but support Zionism. In fact, it was that fear, along with the notion that a broadened focus would dilute the power of anti-apartheid sentiments, that caused FSAM leaders to resist those links in the past. But now they are willing to forge stronger bonds with Palestinian protestors.

—Salim Muwakkil



By Matt Witt

MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS THAT want to continue to profit under South Africa's apartheid system have developed a new public-relations strategy after a year in which their old one, based on the so-called "Sullivan Principles," collapsed. Among the architects of the new corporate PR offensive is Royal Dutch/Shell, which must counteract an international boycott aimed at forcing the giant oil company to stop supplying South Africa with crucial petroleum products.

For the past decade, multinationals involved in South Africa have defended themselves against charges that they prop up the apartheid regime by supplying it with oil, computers, technology and investment capital. If the corporations would disinvest and cut off all economic ties, their critics say, the apartheid system could not survive.

Until recently, the corporate defense was based on guidelines developed during the mid-'70s in cooperation with General Motors board member Leon Sullivan, a black minister from Philadelphia. In theory, the Sullivan Principles required such reforms as integrated factory lunchrooms, but even those minor changes were complied with only sporadically.

Meanwhile, companies could continue to profit from cheap labor under a system in which 85 percent of the population cannot

New corporate strategy on South Africa

exercise the freedom to organize or speak freely, own property (except in isolated reservations), or work or live where they choose. "We're abiding by the Sullivan Principles," the corporations would say, and many legislators and editorial writers would not probe further.

In recent years, however, the movement demanding corporate disinvestment from South Africa has organized widespread public support and has effectively discredited the Sullivan defense. Then last June Rev. Sullivan himself officially withdrew support from his own principles, saying they had not and would not bring fundamental change.

To fill the resulting void, the corporations apparently plan to change their emphasis from how they supposedly make life under apartheid more bearable to how they are needed to prepare South African blacks for

Multinationals are changing their emphasis from how they allegedly make life under apartheid more bearable to how they are needed to prepare South African blacks for a "post-apartheid society." They do not say how apartheid will be abolished.

a "post-apartheid society." When apartheid ends someday, blacks will need to be ready to step into new roles as corporate technicians and supervisors, according to this defense. Multinational corporations say they

must stay in South Africa to train blacks to assume those roles, and believe their critics should support that effort rather than try to cut off economic support for apartheid. As was the case for years with the Sullivan Principles, how apartheid will be abolished is not addressed.

Secret plan: The clearest expression of this PR strategy is contained in a 265-page game plan for combatting the Shell boycott. Code-named the Neptune Strategy, the plan was developed for Shell after the boycott was endorsed by major churches, civil rights groups, unions and other organizations in the U.S. and 11 other industrialized countries. It was prepared for Shell by Pagan International, a consulting firm founded by Rafael Pagan, who helped Nestle counter the boycott it faced over unethical marketing practices that endangered the lives of babies in poor countries.

According to the Shell plan, "post-apartheid planning should deflect [anti-apartheid groups'] attention away from the boycott and disinvestment efforts and direct their vision and energy into productive channels."

To implement this strategy, Shell hired, through Pagan International, a former president of the National Council of Churches, James Armstrong. He and Pagan met with top church leaders and "went to great lengths to move the discussion to focus on post-apartheid South Africa," said Tim Smith of the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility (ICCR). "Shell's goal was to obscure ways in which Shell concretely supports white minority rule and apartheid by diverting the debate."

The church strategy backfired on Shell when the ICCR obtained a copy of the Neptune Strategy paper and released it to the news media. Several churches, including the United Church of Christ and American Baptist Churches, reacted by strengthening their support for the boycott.

about the violence between your United Democratic Front and Zulu leader Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha (a more conservative black political movement based in Natal Province's Kwa-Zulu homeland). The enmity is characterized as evidence of a split in the opposition.

Inkatha is a homeland-based group. Inkatha worries that if the situation should change, they would not have the place that they want for themselves in the new South Africa. Now that Buthelezi sees that he is becoming less popular, that the UDF is growing in spite of what is happening in Natal, he gets far more desperate. Part of that desperation comes out in the kind of violence that you see. Also, we know that the police have been helping Inkatha. We saw it at the funeral of Victoria Mxenge [UDF lawyer assassinated in 1985]. People were inside the church, the police threw tear gas in, the people ran out into the spears and the guns of Inkatha. And the police stood around as if nothing were happening. And that same pattern is repeating itself.

What about on the labor front? Few would doubt that organized labor holds a key to the liberation process. Can you



In 1986 students at the University of Cape Town

To "minimize the involvement of the major civil rights groups" in the boycott, Shell hired, again through Pagan, a former national staffer of the United Methodist Church, Rev. Gilbert Caldwell. Caldwell helped establish the "Coalition on Southern Africa," a committee of black church leaders and university administrators that told reporters of the need to help South African blacks prepare for the "post-apartheid period." The group called for more U.S. scholarships for poten-

tell us what happened in the miners' strike last fall? What appeared to be a critical effort ended in failure.

We do not believe that the strikers failed. The strikers failed only insofar as the workers did not get the percentage in terms of money that they wanted. But the strike was about more than money. The strike was a political test for us. And we won. It was the first time that Cyril Ramaphosa [leader of the National Union of Mineworkers] had an opportunity to test his own leadership, among his own workers, and the bosses, and the South African government. The mine-workers showed that they were willing to suffer day after day, to risk harassment, shootings, privation, and forcible return to the homelands. Their children and their families had to do without. There was no big, million-dollar strike fund to dip into. And yet, in spite of all of that, the strike went on for three-and-a-half weeks. I hope that it was a sort of warming-up exercise.

Are you talking about a revolutionary situation?

That is what is happening. I don't think you will find anybody in black South Africa who

Boesak

Continued from preceding page

ment, the ANC fails. In 1960 the ANC said "after 50 years of non-violent action we are now also going to have some military action." But it took them another 20 years to begin the program. If you talk to Oliver Tambo today, he says, "you know, I agonize over the fact that we must do things that will kill people at home." The South African government doesn't deserve a man like Tambo. They deserve someone who is a cold-blooded murderer, if you want to put it that way.

At what stage is the black rebellion?

I think we are further along the road now than ever before. Never before in our history have so many people been involved at so many different levels...People are involved from every oppressed community. Also, the workers are involved in an organized way. The students, the young people are involved. And it is ongoing. They banned one youth organization, and a few months later the young people formed another. The South African Federation of Women is being formed

again, involving more women than the previous one. Taking into account what the South African government has been trying to do in the past few years, it is no less than a miracle, to use Tambo's words, to look at the people and see what we are still able to do in that situation.

One has the impression of spontaneous, not organized, resistance.

A lot is happening. For example, there was real organizing responding to the release of Govan Mbeki. And I don't know what they thought. Maybe they thought that people would just say it's Mbeki, it's not Mandela. But then the community wanted to welcome the man. They had to ban the rally in Port Elizabeth. We organized another rally in Cape Town, we were expecting 100,000 people by the police account, not ours, so there would have been many more. They banned that rally. And then they banned Govan Mbeki. Why? It is because they know that in spite of the state of emergency the people would have come in the hundreds of thousands to welcome the man.

You sound very optimistic about political possibilities. Yet, most news coverage is



clashed with campus security as they tried to disrupt a lecture by a visiting lecturer. Their action supported the academic boycott against South Africa.

tial black South African leaders and joint business ventures between Americans and South African blacks. After Shell's Neptune Strategy was exposed, however, Caldwell, like Rev. Sullivan before him, abandoned the corporate defense he had helped to construct.

Shell on campus: In the universities, Shell's strategy was to "deflect attention from targeted actions regarding individual company disinvestment and to set the stage

for broader topics such as [ethical issues that arise when] operating in a police state, possible scenarios for a post-apartheid society, and other issues as they develop."

To shift the terms of campus debate, Shell planned to "build a network between Shell U.S. executives and members of the academic community," both through conferences and through financing university programs. Shell should find a university willing to establish an "Institute for the Study of

Post-Apartheid Problems," the plan said. At another university, Shell would help establish a training program for potential South African black leaders. The company also hoped to find "points of mutuality" with the labor movement's leadership, which played a key role in launching the boycott. "Such points of mutuality might involve union training programs for black South Africans," the plan suggested. Shell arranged for intermediaries to contact union officials, saying

will doubt the outcome of this. And you will not find anybody who will underestimate the odds.

Are those good or bad, long or short odds?

Huh! It's a mixture of almost everything. It's going to be very tough. But I am convinced as I sit here, it's not going to be long.

What makes you believe that? Non-violent resistance peaked in the late '50s. The government responded in 1960 with the massacre at Sharpeville. The ANC was banned and the movement seemed to be shocked into a 20-year lull. Repression seems an effective tool at Pretoria's disposal.

It's not working out the way it is supposed to. You can see that the South African government has worked up to now along the same pattern as in the '60s with Sharpeville. And I think they fully expected the situation to be repeated. They came in and they hit very, very hard. They killed a lot of people, and after Sharpeville people were sort of stunned into silence and sometimes into submission. It would take a whole generation before we would get on with the job again.

This time [the repression] hasn't worked. You go into that jail and they expect you to be broken, they expect you to be scared. You come out of there and you are more determined than ever.

I think what worries the South African government, almost more than anything else, is exactly this kind of determination. They are beginning to understand that the tactic of bludgeoning people into submission is *not working*. I will never forget the day when we buried some kids killed in a particularly ugly incident by the South African Defense Forces. The father of one of those children got up and he said, "Let them send 1,000 troops into the townships, let them send 10,000, and let them send 50,000, we are not going to give up." Now, this was a man who was burying his son. So, when I hear that kind of language, I say to myself, if I were P.W. Botha, I would give up.

Why? Pretoria seems to be doing just fine. It is projecting its power into all the frontline states, at war against Angola, Namibia, Mozambique. Isn't all this a sign of strength?

Absolutely. It makes them very, very strong.

So now they are involved in Namibia, they are involved in Mozambique, they're involved in Angola. They've threatened everybody else, left, right and center. Let them be involved in all of this, because that makes them far more dependent upon the outside help than they should be. So, if Reagan is tomorrow no longer in office and you have a different administration who decides "we are not going to be involved in this, we are not going to prop up this regime," what are they going to do? I think that they have a great fear that the international solidarity around South Africa is going to be cracking up.

Will it dissolve?

The South African government would not be able to survive were it not for the support it is getting from the West. The U.S. is giving the lead via the economic ties, the political ties, the diplomatic ties. If you can get someone else in the White House who will make different decisions, [British Prime Minister] Margaret Thatcher is really going to be the only person out there. [West German Chancellor] Helmut Kohl will follow the U.S. as far as these things go.

Shell wanted to discuss areas of common ground but those discussions

the labor leaders found that the company would not consider a timetable for disinvestment.

To give the "post-apartheid" angle greater public visibility, Shell consultant Pagan and other corporate representatives planned the "International Conference on South Africa in Transition," which was hosted by the City University of New York last September. Official coordinator for the conference was Dr. Prakash Sethi, a management professor who previously had been hired by Shell through Pagan to direct the "university strategy" of its anti-boycott campaign. Speakers at the conference represented Shell, Mobil, Ford, R.J. Reynolds-Nabisco, DuPont, Colgate-Palmolive and Monsanto.

By involving anti-apartheid activists from both the U.S. and South Africa, the conference was supposed to give legitimacy to the corporations' emphasis on "post-apartheid" planning. But when the background and sponsorship of the conference became known, many of the participants withdrew, reducing the event to what one South African correspondent called "little more than a pep rally" for the corporate establishment.

The time has passed: Ironically, while corporate leaders outside South Africa scramble to replace the Sullivan Principles with a new defense of their involvement with apartheid, even their own representatives within that country admit that the corporate version of constructive engagement has not worked.

In his latest annual report, John R. Wilson, the chairman of Shell South Africa, conceded that corporate involvement has not aided the opponents of apartheid. "For at least the last decade, business has hinged its justification for staying on the fact that by its presence, it can act as a positive agent for change by bringing pressures to bear on those who are in a position to change laws and the structure of society," Wilson wrote.

"Sadly, that time seems to be past...Government is not yet ready to negotiate fundamental change nor to countenance the creation of genuine democratic structures, nor to face the prospect of an end to white domination." □

Matt Witt is director of the American Labor Education Center and editor of *American Labor*.

But can you realistically look to the U.S. for a solution?

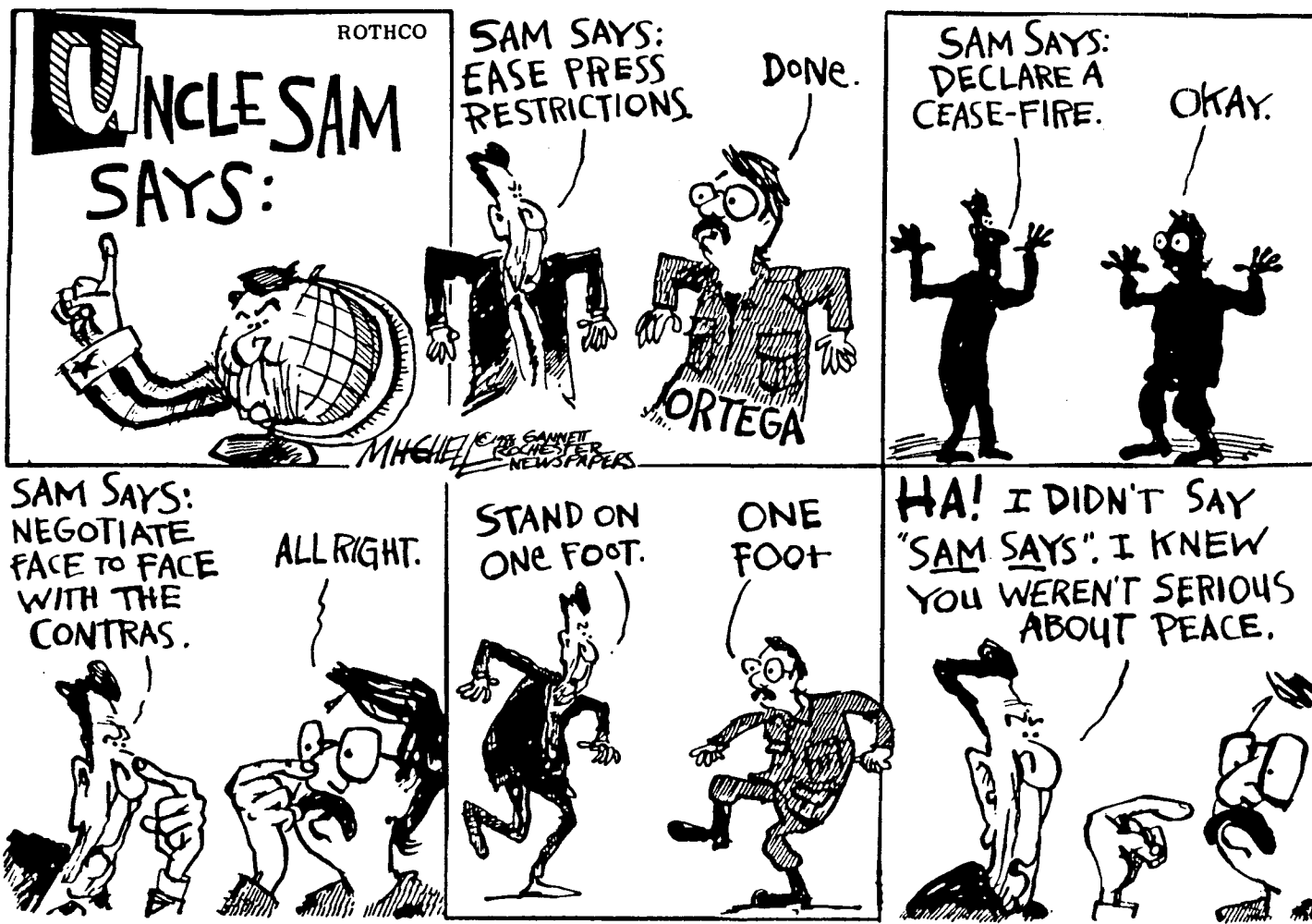
We don't want them to help us fight our battle. We just want them to get out of the way. All we want from the U.S. is to say, "all right, we will no longer protect South Africa in the United Nations when it comes to mandatory sanctions. We will no longer give them diplomatic protection. We will no longer give them economic protection. We will say to our companies, 'all of you get out of there or we will put in place some sanctions that will be effective.'" That's all we ask.

You are saying that all foreign support must cease, that "constructive engagement" is unacceptable? What about the argument that imposing sanctions will only harm an already suffering black populace (see story on page 22)?

The miners' strike showed that this argument, favored by the Reagans and the Thatchers of the world, is nonsense. The mineworkers knew what they were doing and that they were going to suffer for it. But they were willing to do so, knowing that in the end what will come out of it will be better.

Continued on page 22

EDITORIAL



A less than principled victory for democracy

The House defeat of the Reagan administration request for additional aid to the contras is a victory for sanity, a stinging rebuke to the paleo-Cold Warriors and a tribute to the American people—and to those who worked so hard to mobilize opposition to administration policy. Last week's vote handed Reagan the most important licking of his two terms, rejecting as it did the policy closest to his heart and overcoming a barrage of propaganda about threats to U.S. security. Although achieved by the slimmest of margins, this was a turning point in U.S. relations with its southern neighbors.

Not since the Mexican revolution of 1911 has the U.S. allowed a genuine social revolution to survive on the mainland of Latin America. Routinely, successive administrations have intervened to impose compatible regimes or to overthrow those they feared might be hostile to the old ruling classes. This, of course, has always been done in the name of democracy, just as movements and governments of working people and the poor have always been damned as Communist. Over the years a habit of thought has gripped liberals and conservatives alike. Almost universally, American public officials

assume that we have a right—even a duty—to impose our concept of the good society on the benighted people south of our border.

Even in defeating the Reagan policy—the current embodiment of that idea—most opponents of further contra aid spoke in those terms. Only a handful of representatives criticized the idea that we must determine the fate of Central America, that we are nature's appointed arbiters of how people should organize their societies, and that our way is the way.

Significantly, the most forceful in opposing this view were minority lawmakers like Rep. George W. Crockett, Jr. (D-MI), a member of the Black Congressional Caucus, and Rep. Albert G. Bustamante (D-TX) of the Hispanic-American Caucus, and women legislators like Rep. Mary Rose Oaker (D-OH) and Rep. Louise M. Slaughter (D-NY). But for most who spoke in the "debate" that preceded the February 3 vote, the issue boiled down to this: the policy hadn't worked. We tried it for seven years and things are even worse now. Or, some argued, the problem is that the contras are not worthy of our support. If only we could find something more palatable to impose on Nicaragua, Reagan could have his money and do his dirty work.

This attitude bodes ill for our future relations with the Third World. It shows how far we have to go before we have representatives who represent the best interests of our nation. And it illustrates the importance to the left of developing a politics that does more than pressure those in office to vote the right way on particular issues. It's time we started electing our own.

Folly of grandstanding over the AIDS epidemic

Last September Illinois governor James R. Thompson signed 13 bills dealing with AIDS—after making some changes by amendatory veto—and vetoed four others outright. At the time we called this a victory for sanity because Thompson rejected the more hysterical legislation in favor of the more benign and protective bills. But part of that compromise included the signing of a bill to require an AIDS antibody test for couples seeking marriage licenses in Illinois. As we noted then, most knowledgeable people, including the chairman of Thompson's own AIDS Interdisciplinary Council, had urged rejection of the marriage license test because it was political grandstanding that served only to divert attention from the need for education, research and care, and because the test would likely produce "widespread and unnecessary anxiety and fear" among marriage license applicants, especially those who falsely test positive.

Now, after only one month of the marriage test law, the folly of mandatory screening of low-risk groups is glaringly apparent. Marriage license applications in Illinois dropped by more than half the normal rate in January. Hundreds of couples have gone to Wisconsin and other nearby states to get married. Others who cannot afford that luxury—or the \$70 to \$300 cost of privately obtained tests—have so overburdened public facilities that officials at Cook County Hospital have been forced to stop offering free tests. And many couples have complained that the test is an invasion of their privacy that they find degrading. So far, not a single applicant has tested positive.

In short, the marriage test has done no good and has the potential for great harm, just as health experts and people with AIDS predicted. The only AIDS testing needed is voluntary testing for those at high risk. If the aim is to stop the spread of AIDS, the resources devoted to the current mandatory testing program must be redirected. It's time for Illinois politicians, and those in other states, to stop playing politics with this illness and to start listening to those who have the most experience—and the greatest interest—in dealing with this menace.

IN THESE TIMES

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LETTERS

Grow up

I'M GETTING A LITTLE TIRED OF THE JUVENILE ANTICS of left-wing sectarians who smugly write to progressive periodicals like *In These Times* that they are cancelling their subscriptions just because they disagree with an article or a writer or an advertisement.

Criticism is healthy, and *In These Times*, like most socialist papers, generously publishes critiques from its readers. But such declarations of punishment by reducing readership and income is just one more example of an "infantile disorder."

What the socialist left needs, along with lots of dialogue, shared thinking and criticism, is encouragement and a wholesale effort to financially build up and expand the left press so that it will have the impact it deserves.

A. Robbert Kaufman
Baltimore

Ruling-class elan

AT AUFDERHEIDE'S REVIEW (ITT, DEC. 31, 1987) of Steven Spielberg's "Empire of the Sun" focused on the artistic failure of the film without so much as mentioning the conservatism of the film in the contemporary politics of culture. Here we have an apotheosis of the elan of the British ruling class. Under conditions of hardship the boy hero demonstrates moral and intellectual superiority to all the "ordinary" people around him, thereby justifying his oasis of privilege as depicted earlier in the movie. The scene in which the boy returns triumphantly from an encounter with death to the salutes of American prisoners exemplifies this apotheosis. The only characters in the movie who approach the hero in worthiness are the imperial Japanese.

So completely does this film become absorbed in the subject-hood of the hero, that not only Shanghai (as Auferheide observed) but all social relations and history itself disappear into the background—a remarkable achievement in a film about World War II. What is left is the Anglo-Saxon ruling elan personified in a charming and indomitable boy, and the honor and beauty of imperial Japan, proper fare for a world run by the Trilateral Commission.

Brian D'Agostino
Connie Benson
New York

Minor quibbles

CONGRATS TO ITT (JAN. 20) FOR "POLAND: Between East and West" by Jan Knippers Black and Martin C. Needler, an objective and non-ideological account of a country whose affairs I have followed for 30 years, and where I lived and worked for three. Nevertheless, a few minor quibbles.

I wish the authors had explained that Poland's antipathy to the Soviet Union and communism is due more to its historic and cultural differences with Russia than with current issues. Culturally, Poland has always been a part of Europe. Russia has not.

U.S. government leverage on Poland is minimal compared with that of the Soviet Union which still calls the tunes to which Poland dances.

The weekly *Tygodnik Powszechny* has been associated with the Catholic Church for more than 40 years. It is incorrect to call it "an organ of Solidarity" unless the authors mean the popular movement Solidarity and not the trade union.

It is meaningless to say that a Polish professor earns the equivalent of \$80 a month without giving the artificial exchange rate by which this figure was calculated, and noting the state subsidies for housing, food, utilities, and other perks.

The International Monetary Fund should not be blamed for Poland's economic woes which are due rather to the state-directed economy (what they call "scientific socialism") and the disastrous decisions of Poland's leaders in the '70s.

Yale Richmond
Alexandria, Virginia

Jan Knippers Black and Martin C. Needler reply: We generally find little disagreement with Yale Richmond. However, we wrote that *Tygodnik Powszechny* is "generally viewed as an organ of Solidarity"—that is, that it represents the views of Solidarity—not that there is any formal relationship. Also, Richmond may find Polish professors' compensation more adequate than do the professors, who complain that they are paid less than skilled workers.

Good, but not first

AN "IN SHORT" ITEM (ITT, JAN. 13) DISCUSSES the "first" labor studies curriculum in the country being implemented in St. Paul, Minnesota. What's being done in St. Paul is significant and should be publicized and applauded, but it is far from being the first in the country. Labor studies curricula have been in place for decades in some school districts. For more information on labor studies in the schools, contact Jim Auerbach, Department of Education, AFL-CIO, 202-637-5000.

Diane Thomas-Holladay
Labor Education Specialist
Little Rock, Arkansas

It ain't me, Joel

AN ITEM BY JOEL BLEIFUSS (IN SHORT, DEC. 23, 1987) contains several untrue statements about me and the Institute for Contemporary Studies (ICS), with which I have been affiliated.

In the television interview I did with Sylvia Chase of KRON-TV, I made statements

that Chase and her associates grossly distorted in order to attack me and ICS. I never stated that ICS was involved in political spying. Chase and KRON-TV have purportedly ceased disseminating this charge against ICS, although their method of "retraction"—a slight rewriting of a press release and slight modification of the videotape of their series—leaves much to be desired. The activities I described to Chase, such as searching through garbage, visual examination of public offices, etc., were discussed by me only in the context of such activities by an individual named Dan Fox. As I stated to Chase, Fox is a person I have had very slender dealings with; he visited the ICS office several years ago soliciting an interest in payment for spying on left-wing groups. I told him I did not approve of, and ICS was not involved in, such activities. Finally, I barred him from my office. My last contact with him was in early 1986, when he claimed to have information of an "emergency" nature, and on which occasion I informed him forcefully that I did not approve of his activities. I have always believed Fox to be a provocateur.

On every occasion when I have learned of such spying activities I have prevented them from continuing.

I have never had any contact, beyond telephone calls at the time of this series, whether individually or institutionally through ICS, with any of the other groups mentioned in Chase's series. The "commie-watching network" I referred to in the interview consists of scholars and writers who openly and polemically oppose the activities of the U.S. Communist Party.

The assertion as to my supposed "close contact" with the National Security Council (NSC) is a complete distortion. Chase and Jonathan Dann, her producer, asked me on tape whether I expected to visit members of the NSC on a trip to Washington. I stated that I did hope to see NSC members for interviews to be used in a book I am writing on the Nicaraguan revolution, the contra movement, and the fate of Eden Pastora. I have so far had no such interviews. The only contact I have ever had with a member or affiliate of the NSC was a social one, where I met and briefly chatted with an NSC staff employee at a dinner attended by many people. Chase and her associates edited my remarks to make it sound as if I have a relationship with NSC that does not in fact exist.

As to my "briefing a White House audience that included Oliver North," I stated over the telephone to Jonathan Dann that I once attended a meeting in Washington at which I believed Oliver North was in the

audience. The circumstances were as follows: during a discussion of events in the Caribbean, I was asked to come on to the podium and speak for about one minute on the involvement of white Stalinists from Jamaica in the assassination of Grenadian revolutionary leader Maurice Bishop. I did. There was an individual in uniform in the audience whom, later, upon seeing him on television, I surmised was Oliver North.

As to my having "met with the late CIA Director William Casey," The two instances of my meeting Casey both involved social dinners I attended with many others. My "meetings" with him consisted of formal introductions.

Finally, I was never a member of the International Socialists (IS). Some 20 years ago, in either 1968 or '69 (my memory is vague on this) I attended some IS meetings in Berkeley and San Francisco. I do not think I ever paid dues to IS, and the association, such as it was, lasted only two or three months.

ICS is not "my" group. I am now associated with ICS as a fellow, receiving a grant they are administering for my book on Nicaragua. ICS itself has been heavily criticized by people on the right for its opening to such groups as John Marks' Search for Common Ground and Sandy Close's and Franz Schurmann's Bay Area Institute. Indeed, they were strongly criticized for hiring me, by rightists concerned over a supposed "leftist penetration." During my period at ICS the institute undertook projects with left groups, some of which succeeded. One that did not was a conference to be cosponsored by ICS and *Socialist Review*. My views on labor, on affirmative action, and on feminism have been severely attacked by some on the right.

I commend you on your willingness to publish a correction regarding these charges.

Stephen Schwartz
San Francisco

Editor's note: Jonathan Dann, the KRON-TV producer, insists "our story is accurate. We stand by it 100 percent." In *These Times*, not KRON, reported that Schwartz is "a former member of International Socialists." We regret calling him a "former member" if he is not one.

Correction

Martin C. Needler was the co-author of "Poland: Between East and West" in the January 20 *In These Times*. We regret that his name was misspelled in the story.

SYLVIA



I DON'T CARE IF STATISTICS SAY THAT CATS SLEEP 65% OF THE TIME. YOU CAN MAKE STATISTICS PROVE ANYTHING. I WASN'T ASLEEP. I WAS THINKING ABOUT SOMETHING YOU SAID THE OTHER DAY. SOMETHING THAT HURT ME DEEPLY.

2-17
Nicole Hollander

by Nicole Hollander



By Joseph Kriesberg

FOR TEN CONSECUTIVE YEARS NO ELECTRIC utility in the United States has ordered a new nuclear power plant. You have to go back to October 30, 1973—13 days after the Arab oil embargo began—to find an order for a nuclear plant that has not subsequently been cancelled. Overall, more than one-half of the approximately 250 reactors once ordered have been cancelled.

Still, the nuclear power industry is far from dead. One hundred and ten plants are now licensed to operate in the U.S. and another dozen are still under construction. The industry now plans to seek federal approval to operate these reactors for 15 to 20 years after their current licenses expire. And with the support of billions of federal research dollars, the industry hopes construction of a "second generation" of nuclear power plants will begin during the '90s.

Yet every day, the nation's existing reactors release radiation into the air and water resulting in unknown and unpredictable health hazards. They create tons of deadly radioactive waste that will last for tens of thousands of years, but that cannot yet be stored safely for that long. And they experience dozens of mishaps, many of which could lead to catastrophic accidents. In 1986 alone, approximately 3,000 mishaps were reported to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC). Eleven were so serious that the NRC was legally required to report them to Congress.

Nuclear power's cost is too great

For many, these facts justify an accelerated phase-out of nuclear power. But fears that doing so would raise electric rates and increase U.S. dependence on foreign oil remain a stumbling block for any effort to retire existing plants early. Nuclear proponents are spending \$20 million a year to convince the public that closing plants would waste billions of dollars in investments. Once built, they contend, nuclear reactors have low operating costs and provide a reliable source of electricity. The same industry that once promised to produce energy "too cheap to meter" now tells us that, from this point forward, nuclear power will be inexpensive enough to make up for the billions of dollars wasted during construction.

But 30 years of industry experience refutes this claim. A new study by Public Citizen shows that nuclear plants are so unreliable and expensive to operate that it would be cheaper to close many existing plants, despite the billions of dollars already invested. *Too Costly to Continue: The Economic Feasibility of a Nuclear Phase-Out* further reveals that nuclear reactors can be replaced by cheaper, safer, and more dependable alternatives.

Not dependable: While often portrayed as dependable, nuclear reactors actually experience frequent unplanned shutdowns and long outages. In 1986, nuclear plants experienced 678 emergency shutdowns and operated at just 57 percent of their capacity.

Nuclear plants are designed to operate at 80 percent of their capacity, but 1986 was the eighth year in a row that the industry averaged less than 60 percent.

The frequent outages force consumers to pay twice: once for the inoperable nuclear plant and once for replacement power. Moreover, utilities must build extra reserve capacity to ensure reliable supply when nuclear plants close unexpectedly. Similarly, the Tennessee Valley Authority has been able to meet electrical demand even though all five of its reactors have been closed since August, 1985.

Nuclear plants are not only unreliable and unnecessary, but they are also becoming much more expensive to operate. Since 1970, operating and maintenance costs at U.S. nuclear reactors have risen 11.4 percent each year after inflation. The cost for major repairs (i.e., repairs not considered routine operating and maintenance) has risen even faster—increasing 12.8 percent each year after inflation. These repairs now average \$32 million per year at 1,000 megawatt reactors, and frequently top \$100 million. For example, the Tennessee Valley Authority estimates that restarting two of its Browns Ferry reactors in Alabama will cost over \$1 billion. Florida Power & Light spent \$165 million at its Turkey Point plant in order to refurbish the plant's steam generators during the early '80s.

On top of these costs come even greater, although currently unpaid, costs. Rather than learning from its history, the nuclear industry is repeating its past mistakes by grossly underestimating the costs for nuclear waste disposal and plant decommissioning.

Since 1983, the fee that utilities charge consumers for high-level nuclear waste disposal has not changed even though the estimated cost has doubled. Future consumers will have to make up the difference. Even more alarming is the fact that since 1981, the estimated cost for just testing potential dump sites has increased 20-fold. And utilities completely ignore the opportunity to reduce decommissioning costs by retiring plants early—before the addition of replacement parts and increased radiation make decommissioning even more expensive. While U.S. utilities do charge ratepayers for these costs, the fees collected are woefully inadequate—Sweden, for example, collects about three times as much for each kilowatt-hour (kwh) of electricity generated as do U.S. utilities.

While these are real out-of-pocket expenses, utilities and regulators often ignore them because they do not know exactly how large they will be. The industry's philosophy appears to be that any unknown or uncertain cost does not exist. Thus, future ratepayers—who will not use the nuclear-generated electricity—will be forced to pay for disposing of the waste left behind.

A high price to pay: When these factors are included Public Citizen estimates that continuing to operate existing nuclear plants is costing between \$15 and \$21 billion each year—two to three times the industry estimate of \$8 billion per year. These figures include neither the health and environmental costs associated with nuclear

power nor the billions of dollars in annual subsidies which the industry receives from the federal government.

While the price for nuclear power is rapidly increasing, safer and cheaper alternatives are now available. In fact, the answer to the nuclear problem may lie in a new version of an old saying: "a kilowatt-hour saved is a kilowatt-hour produced." Several utilities have already adopted energy conservation programs that save kwh's for less than one cent each. By comparison, Public Citizen estimates that it costs 3.7 to 5.3 cents to generate that same kwh from an existing nuclear power plant. Thus, it would be cheaper to close existing nuclear plants and invest in electricity-efficiency measures instead.

Moreover, small-scale renewable energy systems and cogeneration technologies (for producing electricity from waste heat) are becoming more reliable and less expensive (in contrast to nuclear reactors). Since 1980, the percentage of electricity supplied by these sources has increased from 4 percent to more than 7 percent. In California, these sources actually outproduce the state's six nuclear reactors.

Nationwide, by shifting to energy efficiency measures and renewable energy systems, the U.S. could rapidly phase out nuclear power without raising rates and without increasing the use of fossil fuels.

In many states this message is starting to get through. Despite the defeat last November in Maine, where a \$6 million industry campaign successfully killed an initiative to close the state's one nuclear power plant, dozens of plants around the country remain targets of organized shutdown campaigns. In many cases, high costs are a major driving force behind the efforts:

- In Wisconsin last year, the Dairyland Power Cooperative retired its 18-year-old LaCrosse nuclear plant for several reasons, including "the rising cost of operation of this nuclear plant, the low growth rate in electrical demand,...and the current regional surplus of generating capacity."

- In Colorado, the Fort St. Vrain nuclear plant was removed from the utilities rate base because it was unreliable and costly.

- In Florida, hearings begin this year on a petition by the Occidental Petroleum Corporation to take the Crystal River Three nuclear plant out of the rate base.

- In New Jersey, General Public Utilities recently announced that it may retire its 18-year-old Oyster Creek reactor if its performance does not improve during the next three to four years.

- In Massachusetts, residents will vote this November on a binding referendum to close the state's two nuclear plants. One of those plants, Pilgrim, has been closed for repairs since April 1986 and a recent study found that reopening it would cost consumers \$1.5 billion more than retiring it.

- In Sacramento, Calif., ratepayers will vote in June on a binding initiative to retire the city's 14-year-old Rancho Seco plant which has been closed since a December 1985 accident.

Once hailed as "too cheap to meter," nuclear power has become too costly to continue.

Joseph Kriesberg, energy policy analyst for Public Citizen, is the author of *Too Costly to Continue: The Economic Feasibility of a Nuclear Phase-out*.

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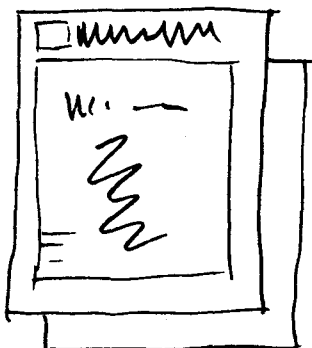
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By Merrill Collett

AS LATIN AMERICA'S "DEMOCRATIC DECade" draws to an end, the enduring image may not be samba-ing Brazilians celebrating the end of dictatorship but blood-splattered ballots in the streets of Port-au-Prince.

Democracy is under fire through the region. In the six days from January 18 to 24, a rebellious Argentine colonel sparked mutinies in five army garrisons, assassins tried to murder a leftist running for president of Ecuador and Colombian drug lords kidnapped the leading candidate for mayor of Bogota.

These recent events continue a trend. In the last three months, a Brazilian senator with army connections called for early elections to head off a coup, Haiti's Tonton Macoutes opened fire on voters and a Panamanian general squashed public protests against him.

After a springtime of democratic rule in Latin America, is popular government dying on the vine?

If so, it will be the second time since the end of World War II. Authoritarian regimes reigned in the '50s, but in the liberating years of the '60s Latin America began a process of democratization that alarmed the oligarchs. They turned to the armed forces, and a series of military coups that brought democratization to a halt in the '70s. At the end of the decade only Mexico, Costa Rica, Venezuela and Colombia had civilian governments.

But they couldn't hold back the wave of democratic fervor that rolled over the region following the defeat of Argentina's armed forces in the Malvinas (Falklands) War of 1982. The brass hats abandoned the political arena, leaving behind mass graves and ruined economies. Only Pinochet's Chile and Stroessner's Paraguay remained under the boot.

It was the end of an era, "the twilight of the dictators." Or was it?

Behind the scenes: Latin America's military men may have marched out of presidential palaces, but they didn't retreat all the way to the barracks. In Central America, Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras have civilian presidents but the armed forces retain veto power. In South America they keep a saber suspended over the elected leaders of Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay.

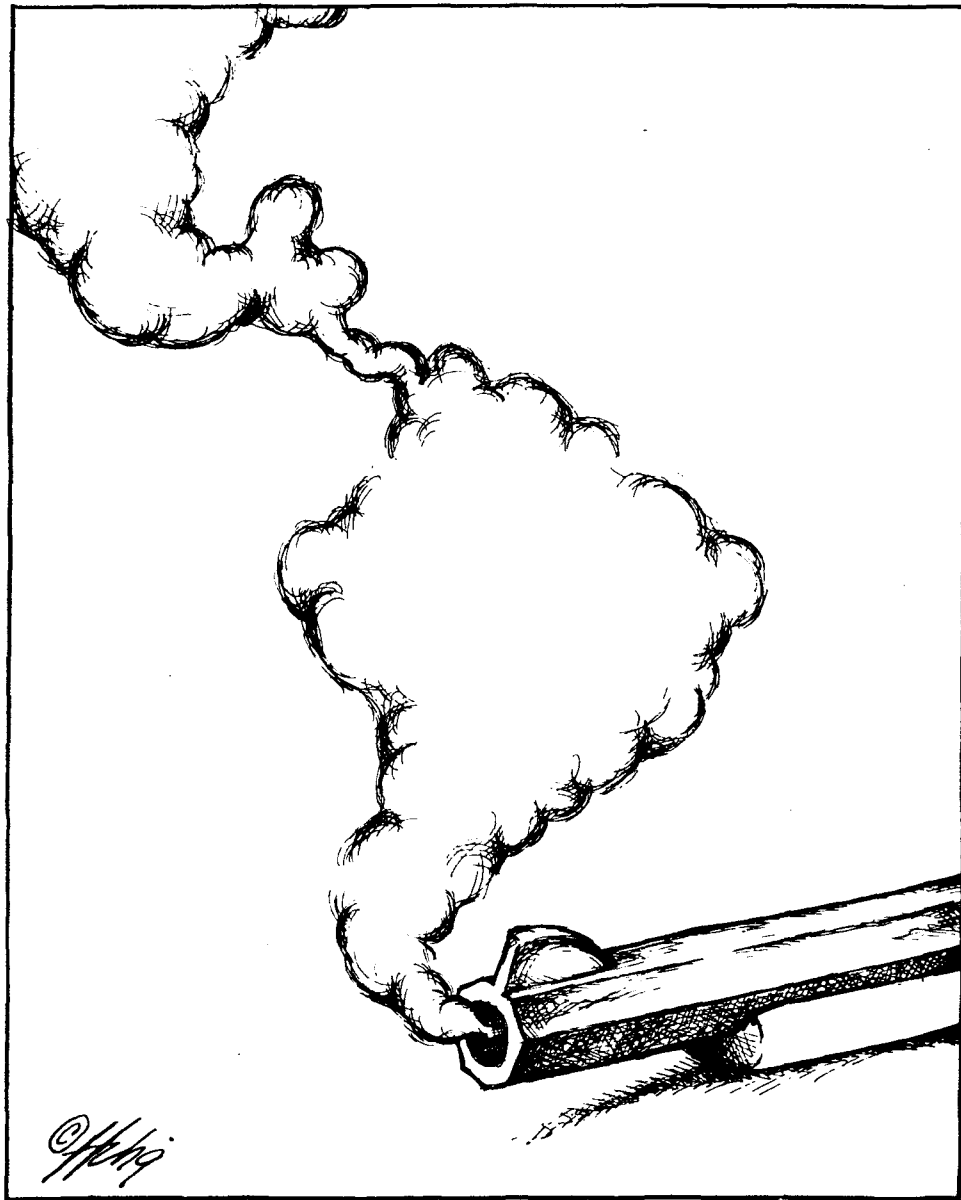
In part, the military's new role on the sidelines is an admission of defeat. While in power, the generals adopted unrestrained free-market policies that devastated local industry, eroded living standards, encouraged huge foreign debts and generated widespread popular discontent.

They couldn't govern, but that doesn't mean they no longer impose their will. Having come under fire, military leaders have reduced their political profiles without giving up their involvement in politics.

There are at least two variations on this theme. In the Caribbean basin the model perfected by Panama's Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega seems to be gaining popularity in military circles.

Noriega's predecessor, the populist reformer Gen. Omar Torrijos, elevated the armed forces to a branch of government in an effort to break the power of the commercial elites that had ruled since independence.

The military still controls most of Latin America



When Torrijos died in an airplane crash, Noriega assumed his place. Noriega had the power of Torrijos without his good intentions. The result has been a corrupt military dictatorship with a puppet civilian president. Panama's democratic facade deflects international criticism.

The effectiveness of the Noriega formula has not escaped Haiti's Lt. Gen. Henri Namphy, who has allowed the election of a government to his liking after suppressing one that he opposed.

The Noriega system is nicely in place in the former Dutch colony of Suriname, on the northeastern edge of South America. After seven years of open dictatorship, the country's military ruler, Lt. Col. Desi Bouterse, permitted civilian politicians to "defeat" him in elections last November. Meanwhile, the new constitution gives Bouterse veto power over government decisions.

This cynical arrangement is a matter of financial necessity for Bouterse. His cash-strapped regime needed a civilian facade in order to reapply for the foreign aid Holland cut off after Bouterse murdered 15 opposition leaders in 1982.

Future wave: On the South American continent, the new style of military involvement in politics takes a more subtle form. The Colombian armed forces are in the vanguard of developing a "post-Argentina" model.

Argentine President Raul Alfonsin's prosecution of the military masterminds of the "dirty war" in that country shocked the

armed forces throughout the region.

Latin American political tradition has always held that civilian elites must defend, not attack, the armed forces if the ruling classes want continued military protection against the discontent of their own workers and peasants.

This is especially true in Colombia, where the military serves as the praetorian guard of the two traditional parties that have traded power for more than a century, locking out the participation of the poor. When Colombian soldiers were overzealous in their work of repressing discontent, they

assumed that charges of human rights abuses would be filed away in a dust-covered corner of the Defense Ministry.

Thus the repressive government of President Julio Turbay Ayala (1978-1982) resulted in the illegal arrest and torture of thousands of dissidents by the army, but no soldier was ever prosecuted despite vociferous protests by Amnesty International.

But Argentina's imprisonment of its general staff called into question past assumptions of immunity from prosecution. "The case of Argentina teaches by example," retired Colombian Army Gen. Luis Alberto Andrade told me. "In Argentina, the military annihilated subversion but ended up in jail."

The armies may have marched out of Latin America's presidential Palaces, but they have not gone back to the barracks. They retain ultimate power.

It teaches us that we can't assume the total responsibility when those who have to assume it first are the politicians."

If not willing to assume "total responsibility"—a coup followed by a government-run dirty war—the Colombian military appears ready to accept the partial responsibility of conducting a clandestine program of annihilating the left.

There is ample evidence that at least middle-ranking officers are involved in murdering members of the Patriotic Union, the unarmed electoral party founded by Soviet-line guerrillas. More than 500 party members—including its chairman—have been shot down since it was founded in 1984. Authorities are holding no suspects.

Latin America can expect more Colombian bias.

The brass hats aren't much interested in taking power any more. Who wants to run a government hopelessly mired in foreign debt? And then there are the human rights groups always buzzing in your ear. The old men who run Chile and Paraguay represent the old way of doing things. Colombia is the blood-red wave of the future. ■

Merrill Collett writes from Caracas, Venezuela.

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ITT

Breaking down the cultural barricades

The Struggle for Black Arts in Britain: What Can We Consider Better than Freedom
By Kwesi Owusu
Comedia Publishing Group, \$7.50

By Arlene Goldbard

IN THE BRITISH LEFT, THE WORD "black" means something different than in the U.S. Kwesi Owusu puts it this way: "To be black is not merely a matter of skin colour. It is a state of consciousness, of what Frantz Fanon would have called 'combat breathing': a living, inter-

BRITAIN

minable challenge to imperialism in the metropolis." In Britain, politically conscious people of African, Asian and Caribbean descent all describe themselves as black, articulating with this single word a shared history of colonization and the struggle against colonization.

Since World War II, many thousands from Asia, Africa and the Caribbean have migrated to England in search of work. The traditional means of entry into British society have been absorption and self-effacement, whether voluntary or forced; the immigrant is supposed to forget home and learn how to think, talk, work, eat and play in the Queen's English. But England couldn't swallow these black immigrants the way it has labored to digest generations of Irish and Welsh, coming in off the farms. Owusu writes of the cultural impact of black immigration, the way black people have stood up for their rights, stuck in the throats of the British cultural establishment, and in the process transformed British culture.

In several key sections of this book Owusu treats the concept of "orature," a term that describes cultural practice that combines art forms treated as distinct in Western societies while it also breaks down the Western separation between artist and audience. Oraturists may mix song, dance, drama and visual imagery, using call-and-response forms to construct a dialogue within the community created by the cultural experience in which they are taking part. Owusu writes, "Orature is an *aesthetic*, a multi-levelled, multi-process fusion of the political and cultural, of art forms and languages, which is grounded in the experience, traditions and aspirations of black people."

Integrated culture: According to Owusu, "What is unique about orature is the highly effective role played by creativity in the process of social decision-making. People

sing and dance at assemblies called to deliberate on issues of the day. These creative activities are not seen as side attractions to break the 'boredom of political meetings' nor as 'creative after-thoughts,' as many organisations, including radical ones, see culture today. They are integral to the political discourse itself."

A beautifully evocative opening chapter depicts Notting Hill Carnival, an annual street celebration that might be described as a populist, Afro-Caribbean equivalent of New Orleans' Mardi Gras. Over the years, the carnival has developed a more militant edge—with the revellers' costumes expressing opposition to urban living conditions and government policies—government at-

Owusu gauges the cultural impact of black immigration in Great Britain.

tempts to suppress and control the event's mobilizing potential have escalated. One of the most insidious manifestations of official refusal to respect the carnival has been the failure of the Arts Council of Great Britain (the equivalent of our National Endowment for the Arts) to finance the event as it would a comparable enterprise—say, the season of a prestige theater or ballet company.

Owusu describes the racism that infuses the Arts Council and dissects the many strategies it has used to contain and suppress black arts, such as subsuming them along with Balkan dances and Ukrainian songs in the broad category of "ethnic arts," thus rendering them officially

marginal and denying their mobilizing and oppositional power. He examines the structures of arts funding bodies, and finds them "based on a European division of art forms and...ill-equipped to handle activities which cross formal boundaries...The basic pattern of resource allocation parallels the pattern of activities in the dominant culture..." Owusu argues persuasively that racism is intrinsic to the system of pub-

lic cultural support and that only when this fact is acknowledged and extraordinary steps taken to redress the past can this basic characteristic of British cultural policy be changed. Along the way he challenges the British community arts movement for its Eurocentrism, and argues that previous attempts to address the issues he raises have been at best feeble, at worst, damaging.

Despite enormous differences in

history and population, the same basic story could be told in the U.S. For now, it would be a huge improvement in our own dialogue on cultural policy if *The Struggle for Black Arts in Britain* were on everyone's required reading list. ■

Arlene Goldbard is a partner in Adams & Goldbard, an organizational consulting firm based in Ukiah, California.

Thelwell proves he's still a triple threat

Duties, Pleasures, and Conflicts: Essays in Struggle
By Michael Thelwell
University of Massachusetts Press
266 pp., \$10.95

By Anthony Borden

OF ALL THE RECENT HISTORIES of the '60s, Michael Thelwell's collection of short stories, political essays and literary criticism is most obviously distinguished by the simple fact that the '60s is when most of it

was written. While an activist with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Thelwell expressed himself powerfully in a number of different forms. As a result, *Duties, Pleasures, and Conflicts* has an immediacy unmatched even by oral histories and assembled remembrances of the period. It is a book about the civil rights movement not faded—or reshaped—by time.

By presenting these pieces without emendation or commentary (except for a slightly revisionist postscript to "The Castrated Giant," on

the march on Washington), Thelwell is also making a strong political point, in opposition to much of the recent work on the '60s student movement. He challenges the easy conclusion that those youthful efforts can be dismissed as honorable but perhaps extreme or indulgent.

THE '60s

Thelwell allows the reader to judge his early arguments as written, and with the passage of two decades they hold up remarkably well.

Three opening short stories very nearly burn with the heat of the moment. "The Organizer" describes the bombing of the house of a black family in the South in the midst of a SNCC campaign. As the survivors

wail and the sheriff struts, it is left to the organizer to calm the crowd and plan how to exploit the tragedy, even as he faces overwhelming self-doubt. The other two stories trace the journey of a confused and restless black tenant farmer. Travelling from rural Mississippi to a job as a waiter in a big-city hotel, he finds community but never any peace. And be assured, it's not so much existential quietude he's looking for but simply less violence.

The fiction lays a sturdy base for the political essays that follow on black liberation and black pride. From notes on the harsh life in the deep South to analyses of the intellectual "battles" on Northern campuses (especially the theoretical explanation for the Cornell occupa-

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tion). Thelwell presses his case for black power and communal independence, arguing that more integrationist strategies risk cultural suicide and political irrelevance. Articles on the frustrations of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, the resistance to black-studies programs, and the complexity of the ghetto make this point with impressive intelligence and moral force.

A fragile history: The "political" section stands in turn as a good base from which to approach the next section, on literature, which includes two defenses and two attacks, respectively, of James Baldwin's *Native*

Alien and William Styron's *The Confessions of Nat Turner*, as well as an exchange of letters with Irving Howe from 1979 over V.S. Naipaul, and two

Thelwell's discussion of racist stereotyping in the work of Styron, a man who could show at the same time in journalistic pieces that he

ute the durability of all these articles less to his own abilities than to the economic inequalities and other consequences of the reinvigorated racism of the '80s. It is in that spirit that he concludes with a new essay written for the book on Jesse Jackson's 1984 presidential campaign, for which he was an organizer. Thelwell draws on the themes of a book on the '60s to underscore the importance of the campaign and to highlight its amazing achievements, as well as to place its errors in an understandable context.

Most important, in answer to allegations about Jackson's char-

latanism, Thelwell describes the "minor conspiracy" among a number of "widely dispersed veterans of the civil rights movement," whose agitation for a black presidential candidate led to the Rainbow campaign. I skipped to this essay when the book first arrived. And it is a measure of its success that the piece read much stronger still the second time through, after I had been led through a little history by a younger but no less wise Thelwell. ■

Anthony Borden is a freelance journalist who writes frequently on the South.

Michael Thelwell's collection shows the '60s civil rights movement not faded—or reshaded—by time.

pieces from the early '80s on the importance of black African writers. The unifying theme here is the fragility of true black history and fiction in the face of institutional forces intent on keeping it second-class.

knows better, serves as a cry for the integration of the political and the artistic, as does "Modernist Fallacies and the Responsibility of the Black Writer."

Thelwell, to be sure, would attrib-

The extreme right goes off half-cocked

Armed and Dangerous: The Rise of the Survivalist Right

By James Coates
Hill and Wang, 294 pp., \$17.95

By Leonard Zeskind

ON FEBRUARY 16, 15 WHITE SUPREMACISTS will go on trial in Ft. Smith, Arkansas for seditious conspiracy. Federal prosecutors expect 250 witnesses to be called over three months. The bombings, murders, robberies and counterfeiting operations, which the federal indictment asserts were organized by the defendants, have heightened public interest in the nether world of organized racism.

There has been a spate of books and made-for-TV movies about neo-Nazi and Ku Klux Klan-type groups. HBO and ABC recently broadcast programs based on the Aryan Nations and Canadian anti-Semite James Keegstra respectively. There are another half-dozen movies on the same general themes currently in various stages of production in Hollywood.

Berg gunned down: James Coates was a reporter on assignment in Denver, Colorado when radio talk-show host Alan Berg was murdered in June 1984 by neo-Nazis. The killing sparked Coates' interest, and three-and-a-half years later the result is *Armed and Dangerous*, one of the most serious efforts yet to make sense of the phenomenon the author calls the "Survivalist Right."

Although the Berg murder and other activities by a white supremacist gang dubbed "The Order" is the recurring touchstone, Coates ventures into less well-known areas such as the Duck Club member who murdered a family he thought were "Jewish Communists" in Seattle on Christmas Eve 1985. Coates recounts the story of Posse Comitatus member Gordon Kahl's fiery 1983 death in Arkansas, four months after Kahl had killed two federal marshals in North Dakota. Coates has an eye for the newly organized strains of heartland anti-Semitism, such as the story of Arthur Kirk, the National Agricultural Press Association member who died on his Nebraska farm after

a shootout with a SWAT team. Coates even devotes 10 pages to the bizarre "Christian Identity" grouping in northeast Kansas that gathered on a Rulo, Nebraska hog farm before killing two of its own members.

Armed and Dangerous has a reporter's attention to detail and personality. Coates treats the myriad groupings and individuals as a single social movement and attempts to

HATE GROUPS

place the accounts of violence and racism within a larger context. A longish account of the "Christian Identity" movement, for instance, indicates the role that racist theology plays in binding different organizations.

That's Armageddon: Coates believes that his subjects are bound together by a common preoccupation with survivalism. They all stockpile weapons and dried foods. They fear either racial Armageddon or nuclear holocaust. The more emphatic of the neo-Nazi groups believe they will rule a nuclear-decimated planet, and repopulate it with Aryans.

Even though Coates successfully integrates the apocalypticism of the New Right televangelists and their millions of followers in a final chapter, the book suffers when it moves beyond reportorial vignettes to analysis.

Coates' "Survivalist" construct comes apart when he tries to include the LaRouche cult in his story. Lyndon LaRouche does regularly issue dire warnings of economic collapse and Soviet invasion. The LaRouche cult has maintained extensive ties to other racist and anti-Semitic organizations, including shared paramilitary instructors. But the well-oiled LaRouchians share little of the Posse Comitatus' penchant for dried food and "survivalist" politics.

The survivalist construct also forces Coates to include mountain men and other "lone wolves" whose political views are incidental to their murderous rage.

On the other hand, Coates presents precious little evidence of the widespread survivalist response to the threat of nuclear war. The book

contains no accounts of the gun and knife shows where racist politics freely mix with the sale of assault rifles and camouflage uniforms. Tom Posey and his Civilian Material Assistance, which has trained in backwoods camps with mercenaries and suburbanites alike, is not mentioned.

Leaky analysis: Coates implicitly recognizes the failure of "Survivalism" to define this social movement when he traces its roots back to the Know-Nothing nativism of the 19th century. But he misses an opportunity to explore the Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic racialism of that period, preferring instead to recount the anti-Catholic bigotry.

A leaky analytical construct is the book's greatest failing, but it is not

the only one. It reads as if you are following Coates' own chronology of investigation. At its best moments one tale follows succinctly after another. At its worst, events are

Coates attempts to place accounts of violence and racism within a larger context.

crammed inexplicably together. And the details of the Berg murder are retold a half-dozen times.

There are other, smaller flaws. Coates confuses Identity minister

Gordon Winrod with his father Gerald, who was nicknamed the "Jayhawk Nazi" during the '30s. He also mistakes Gerald L.K. Smith's post-WWII Christian Nationalist Party with Wesley Swift's Christian Defense League.

Yet Coates has amassed a substantial body of evidence that a genuinely radical social movement among middle-class and blue-collar whites has emerged in the past 10 years. Rather than knee-jerk "law and order" conservatives, *Armed and Dangerous* conclusively demonstrates the movement's "revolutionary" character. For this reason alone it should be widely read. ■

Leonard Zeskind is the research director of the Atlanta-based Center for Democratic Renewal, a national clearinghouse for community-based efforts to counter hate-group activity.



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Patti Rocks

Directed by David Burton Morris

By Pat Aufderheide

WATCHING *PATTI ROCKS*, I suddenly remembered the sweet-faced boy who asked me, a dubious freshman, to a frat party. Settled on a couch near the keg, he sank into sullenness, and then suddenly spoke: "I don't understand it. I'm at a party, I have a beer in my hand and a girl at my side. How come I'm not having fun?"

Whatever his name was, and wherever he went next in search of a good time, he'd probably like *Patti Rocks*. It's about what happened to the kind of guy who does know how to have a good time at parties like that.

A high-dive plunge into the depths of misogyny in America, the film created instant scandal when a shocked ratings board gave it an "X" for its astoundingly coarse male-bonding monologues. The film finally got an "R" (see accompanying story), but it goes on jarring sensibilities with a rough-hewn and ultimately poignant story of two men on the road, running away from their own terror of women.

Patti Rocks is a creature of the new boom in independent film, fostered by cable and videocassette and the breakdown of studio film financing. If Vestron's *Dirty Dancing* is one sign that hit-based success isn't going to

The car becomes a locker-room on wheels for Billy (Chris Mulkey) and Eddie (John Jenkins) in *Patti Rocks*.

No pat answers on the rocky road to feminist enlightenment

FILM

go away soon, more offbeat fare—like this film, *Near Dark*, *She's Gotta Have It*, the work of Jim Jarmusch,

and the by-now annual display of independent work at the U.S. Film Festival in Park City, Utah—are hints that England's Channel 4 doesn't have the celluloid creativity market cornered.

Brainstorming buddies: Four old friends from Minneapolis-St. Paul, three of whom had together made the critically-acclaimed independent film *Loose Ends* 12 years before—and all of whom have been

***Patti Rocks* is a high-dive plunge into the depths of misogyny in America.**

buffeted by West Coast industry winds since—cooked up *Patti Rocks*. (No, it doesn't have a rock theme, any more than director David Burton Morris' most recent and not very

successful film *Purple Haze* did.)

Morris and actors Chris Mulkey, John Jenkins and Karen Landry together brainstormed a story to be a sequel to the buddy film *Loose Ends*. They got FilmDallas, which has backed such successes as *The Trip to Bountiful* and *Kiss of the Spider Woman*, to carry their \$350,000 pro-

duction.

Patti Rocks takes up the characters of Eddie Hassit (Jenkins) and Billy Regis (Mulkey) twelve years after they jointly suffered blue-collar blues in *Loose Ends*.

Eddie, once a mechanic, is now a supervisor and divorced. He's burdened with disappointments and the

fear of the next one. Billy, on the other hand, has taken his earthy charm and man's-man style and made it a shield against intimacy. Now with a wife and two daughters, he's addicted to sexual thrills on the road.

Patti Rocks (Karen Landry, Mulkey's wife in real life), with whom Billy's had a rollicking casual affair, is pregnant, and wants to keep the baby. Eddie's mission, as Billy sees it, is to keep him company while he makes the all-night journey to break the news to her that he's married.

On the road: As they drive through sub-zero weather on Midwestern freeways, the car turns into an inadvertent confessional. Billy regales Eddie with sexual exploits, complaints and fantasies, all drawn from a seemingly endless well of desire and contempt. Eddie responds by drifting into his own monologues of confusion and loneliness.

The mutual monologues testify to the way these men talk more as exorcism than communication. Eddie can be lugubrious, if devastatingly descriptive, for instance with his tale of how a marital understanding falls apart. Billy's pure uncut crude, and also pungently hilarious. When Billy gives a move-by-move description of "directed" sex with his wife—"Now lick me! Lick me!"—I dare you not to laugh. And when he imagines being beamed up a la *Star Trek* from a sexual bout right after coming, it's the zipless fuck fantasy that both men and women have conjured.

Karen Landry as Patti: an obscure object with desires of her own.



Joel Warren

Once Billy and Eddie reach Patti's house, they also arrive at a confrontation with their own character armor. That's because Patti, who still can find Billy seductive, also regards him as dispensable. Far from Billy's combined desire and fear—"She loves me!"—she wants nothing from him. And she insists on her own sexual and personal autonomy.

With down-to-earth reasonableness, Patti throws Billy's slang back at him—"chopping beef," "gash," "slash," "whore," "slut"—and asks him where those names are for men who cheat on their wives. She paints a creepy picture of marriage to the glumly romantic Eddie: it's fattening in her opinion. When she asks to see a picture of Billy's kids, his good old boy facade finally cracks and he turns into a vulnerable, lonely human being.

But not for long. Soon Eddie and Billy are back on the road.

Bad boy on parade: The three-character drama really focuses on one, because Eddie provides counterpoint to Billy's act and Patti provides the foil. Although Patti's character gives the film its overt critical edge on Billy's act, you don't learn much about Patti's life; you learn more about how she feels about the men in it. But Patti does transform Billy from an impenitent sexual thug to a figure who reveals a terrible hollowness beneath the hard shell of macho performance.

If you've never met Billy before in the movies, you've met him everywhere in real life. Chris Mulkey makes Billy manipulatively charming, and the monologue-dialogue gives him creative spin on ancient fears and hostilities. This may be the first movie to confront you not only with the blunt crudeness of garden-variety, blue-collar misogyny but also make you understand how it's lived and how it can be engaging. And that makes *Patti Rocks* not just an exploitation of misogyny but an exploration of it. It takes an issue and makes it an experience, one not confined to the Midwest or to blue-collar workers.

Patti Rocks works powerfully as a film, despite its low budget, claustrophobic settings and lack of special effects. Cinematographer Greg Cummins performs a visual ballet in the car scenes, keeping the focus on the energy of the monologues without giving you that Eric Rohmeresque feeling of being trapped in a small space with characters who are going to talk you to death. Director Morris plays to the film's strength—the vitality of the war between men and women—keeping the film grounded in personal idiosyncrasies that reveal character.

Controversy: The film also works as a Rorschach test for viewers, who tend to go right past aesthetics into the meat of the sexual crisis symbolized by Billy's frequent phrase, "chopping beef."

"We've actually given personal counseling to interviewers, I kid you not!" Mulkey said in interview with *In These Times*. Landry, who likes to call the film a "locker room on wheels," continued, "Everyone knows a Billy, although everyone has their own reactions. Some men look at Billy and say, 'We're not like that,' because they feel exposed. Other men say, 'At last, here it is, head on.'" Although the film has gotten rave reviews from leading women's magazines, some women have declared themselves incensed at a film that puts aggressive fear of women at the center of the story.

"I think in the first part of the film," says Landry, "some women are going to feel an enormous amount of hostility. But—and this is a dangerous generality—I think women who reject it have cut themselves off from relating to men sexually and to themselves. But if they stick with the film, they'll see Patti as a woman who makes sexual choices out of a sense of freedom."

For Landry, who has a successful television career but who's been starved for film roles, the character of Patti was a breakthrough. "I can't think of women characters in other films who get to talk to a man the

way Patti gets to talk to both Eddie and Billy, or to admit that she too likes to play the sexual game on her own terms."

Landry and Mulkey are both upset at accusations of sexism. "I don't think Billy hates women," says Mulkey. "I think he doesn't understand his feelings toward them, so he's stuck in dogma. He's intelligent and very manipulative, but he's been asleep emotionally for a long time."

"I find Billy's brand of chauvinism a lot less threatening than someone like Pat Robertson, who will behave quite properly and use no bad words, and who wants to put everything backwards in time."

says Landry. "I think men like that are very threatening. They may not be saying any foul words, but they want to take away people's freedoms."

Test case: While making the film, at times the cast and crew wondered if they were stepping over the boundary into a danger zone for distribution. "But I'd say, 'Don't worry, in the future people will study this,'" Mulkey said. Drama teachers are already begging for key monologues for their students, and it's being used in film classes. At a seminar at UCLA, the film stirred up a heated discussion—again, not about the film so much as about the heart of the characters' problems.

"We didn't set out with David and John to make a film that's an answer to a question," explains Mulkey. "We wanted for people to have a good look at a situation. If you can get a good look at a problem, you can think about it, talk about it, draw your own conclusions. We're very happy we made a movie that people talk about one, two, three days afterward."

Patti Rocks, a marathon talk movie, does get people talking, and thinking, and remembering. It's a road movie that drives right out of genre boundaries into the wide-open territory for independent filmmakers today.

© 1988 Pat Aufderheide

Impassioned plea helps director dodge an "X"-rating

When the Motion Picture Association of America ratings board gave *Patti Rocks* an "X," director David Burton Morris gave an impassioned speech appealing the decision. Excerpted below, it illuminates not only the director's vision but the challenge to independent filmmakers in the American industry today.

"I've been an independent filmmaker for 13 years. I went to UCLA's film school at a time when most of my fellow students were trying to churn out horror films as a calling card to gain entry into the industry. Somehow I didn't feel this was right for me.

"About that same time I saw a film that helped me to focus on what I wanted to do. It was a low-budget Cuban film, [Tomas Gutierrez Alea's] *Memories of Underdevelopment*. I knew then the kind of films I wanted to make. Small, personal films that were about someone, about something. Films that didn't exist solely to make money.

"Anyway, my calling card film was called *Loose Ends*. It was released in 1975 and made several 'Ten Best Films of the Year' lists. I got married and started to raise a family in Los Angeles. I was

wooded by several studio projects, [but] most of what I was offered and the majority of Hollywood films I see are offensive to me as an artist. Either they are excessively violent, rampantly sexist, politically reactionary, or just downright silly.

"So my wife Victoria and I struggled. I finally said 'yes' to one of these offers after my roof caved in during a terrible barrage of rain one winter. The story was about a summer camp where girls go to become better cheerleaders. Well, after two months I couldn't take it anymore. I walked because the film was sexist, humiliating and degrading to women."

"I learned an important lesson here. I could never work just for the money. I had to believe in the project. Which brings me back to *Patti Rocks*.

"I believed in what this picture was attempting to say. I wanted to make a film about male sexism and the double standard. I chose as my protagonists two blue-collar workers. But it just as well could have been two film executives. If you don't think Hollywood is still a 'boy's club,' go ask any struggling female direc-

tor out there.

"But the reason why we're gathered here today is the dialogue in *Patti Rocks*. I truly believe that I made a film that is pro-woman, pro-life, and a film that takes a stand against a prevalent trait in all too many males. Judging from the three reviews we've received so far in the women's monthlies, they wholeheartedly concur.

"I was shocked and dismayed to learn that we had received an 'X,' apparently for the cumulative effect of the dialogue. What would I cut, since the very nature of the film is about language itself? Where do I start? And do I have a film left when I've finished cutting?

"The rating of 'X' denotes pornography to the average moviegoer. How ironic it is to me to receive an 'X' for a film that is against what porn depicts, the degradation of women.

"Something is wrong here, and I hope you can now share and understand my vision, my purpose, and make it right."

The MPAA appeals board, by the way, voted 8-4 to overturn the ruling in favor of an "R." —P.A.

ART SCENE

Wall Art:
Megamurals & Supergraphics
Photographs by Stefan Merken
Running Press, 128 pp., \$14.95

The roadside attractions in this full-color volume are a mixed bag of site-specific surrealism, alternately charming and biting supergraphics, and startling optical illusions. Noa Bornstein's *Magritte in Los Angeles*, for example (at right), suggests the kind of amazing juxtapositions between fantastic art and mundane car culture that give so many of these paintings their satiric edge.

LA's shopping-mall weather and seemingly endless supply of dull, post-war box buildings make the city the perfect spot for outdoor art. And in a sense it's what you might expect from Los Angeles. A drive-thru museum.

—Jeff Reid



Boesak

Continued from page 13

Is apartheid reforming itself? Is P.W. Botha a reformist?

That's not possible. A system like apartheid cannot be self-reforming. It can only be self-perpetuating.

So why does Time magazine call Botha a reformer?

You tell me. I have great problems with the Western press in their dealings with South Africa...I've often said to people, isn't it time for foreign correspondents in South Africa to begin to ask the question, "What in the world are we doing here? We are not allowed to go to where we should. We are not allowed to report what we see, what we hear. We can only report really what the South African government allows us to. What does it mean to write a story and then to say in a little corner there, 'this has been censored under the emergency regulations?'" If you cannot

tell the truth as it is, and you are hampered by all kinds of things, maybe the best thing is to simply pull up stakes and go. The Western media are helping South Africa to continue to create the illusion that things are reasonably normal.

And liberal businessmen who held "illegal" talks in Lusaka, Zambia, with Oliver Tambo and the ANC? They appear to have a genuine interest in reform.

The businessmen went and they saw the ANC. They also saw, in spite of what they might say, that the ANC is not what they had thought, what they had been led to believe through their prejudice. But I think they are also very afraid. They know that if the situation changes and South Africa becomes a country where the majority rules, it's not going to be in the American style of capitalism that they've gotten used to... We're going to change that.

Are you saying that communists will come to power?

I don't think so. The people in South Africa have made their choices. I can say with conviction that capitalism is not a humane system. We're looking for a kind of economic system that would act as if people mattered. That's what we are going to try in South Africa. And businessmen come away from the ANC knowing that, and so their reaction—instead of putting pressure on the government—is to say, "let's try to postpone this as long as possible, as long as we can and let's try to continue to create the illusion that we are making progress." Their reply is to say what people in the U.S. have said: "Let's create a black middle class," hoping that by doing that, they can actually stop the movement of the people. And those things are not really working. What they are doing is creating far more mistrust in themselves and in what they represent than is necessary.

What is to become of these people? Have they lost their souls?

I think so. That's why I say if our people were to become as violent as white people, we will destroy ourselves...White people will have to find themselves. They will have to learn to forgive themselves, let alone us forgiving them...I don't envy them. I think it is going to be very, very hard.

And, despite your prayer that the road should be a peaceful one, do you believe it will be?

No, there already has been so much violence. It's almost impossible now to speak of a peaceful solution. All one can hope for is that one can contain as much as possible. And I become more committed to non-violence the more violence I see. Someone has got to be telling people all the time, let us make a decision for some humanity here, in order to build a new South Africa...If you become used to using violence, that becomes the only instrument for you. □

Greg Goldin is a Los Angeles-based reporter.

CHRISTOPHER LASCH on Culture & Capitalism

That cultural conservatives should oppose capitalism almost goes without saying. The free market is the great destroyer of tradition. It fosters a rootless, restless mode of life. It promotes change for the sake of change. Its ideal embodiment and symbol is the bulldozer, by means of which the real estate interests plough under the past and put it up for sale.

The "traditional values" invoked by capitalistic conservatism are the values of the man on the make, land speculator, promoter, gambler, Indian fighter, and cultural outlaw — the rugged individualist, in short, who lets nothing stand in the way of a quick killing. The past it romanticizes is the age of the gold rush, the mining camp, and the six-shooter. How anyone can confuse this crude celebration of the predatory instinct with conservatism is a mystery that still awaits elucidation.

Another mystery is how socialism came to be identified with the cult of technology. Socialism ought to mean a respect for limits, a sense of place, a recognition of mutual dependence, a rejection of material abundance as the only requirement of a good life. But the socialist ideal as we know it today offers little in the way of an alternative to capitalism. It is the product of 19th-century optimism and an outdated Darwinian theory of social evolution. "Dialectical materialism" welcomes the giant corporation, the division of labor that reduces the worker to an automaton, the multiplication of needs and wants, and the insatiable appetite for change as the foundations of a new order. Actually, it conceives of socialism as capitalism without the capitalist. "Unparalleled nonsense," Gustave Landauer, himself a socialist, called it.

But if socialism means the common owner-

ship of land, employee-controlled enterprises, a labor-intensive economy, the restoration of craftsmanship, the conservation of scarce resources, and a more modest standard of living, an alliance of cultural conservatism and socialism ought to be irresistible. But socialism seldom means those things today — which is probably why it elicits so little enthusiasm.

We face a doubly daunting task: to take cultural conservatism back from the capitalists and socialism from the socialists. Not work for the faint-hearted!

— adapted from the NEW OXFORD REVIEW

These comments from Christopher Lasch say much about the vision of the NEW OXFORD REVIEW. Edited by lay Catholics, the REVIEW is an ecumenical, ethically rooted, and politically progressive monthly exploring ever-fresh and animating ideas at a time when the Reagan Revolution has gone up in flames and a still-weary liberalism stumbles about in the smoky ruins. Looking beyond bromides, we take inspiration from such giants as Dorothy Day, R.H. Tawney, Archbishop Tutu, Simone Weil, Lech Walesa, Martin Luther King Jr., Emmanuel Mounier, and Archbishop Romero.

Those who write for us include pathfinders such as Lasch, Robert N. Bellah, Walker Percy, J.M. Cameron, John Lukacs, Robert Coles, Jean Bethke Elshtain, and John B. Judis. We kick around a wide variety of issues and defy easy pigeonholing. *Newsweek* pronounces us "cheeky" and the *Library Journal* predicts we'll "command increasing attention." If you relish being on the cutting edge of daring, yet humane, ideas, give us a try!

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AIDS

Continued from page 24

send in information. By typing in a few key strokes on a computer a CAIN user can read articles about AIDS from around the world. The network's "computer smarts" can provide answers to practically any AIDS-related question.

With an annual subscription rate of \$50 a year, CAIN is seen by health agencies as one of the biggest information bargains around. Its subscribers now include doctors, other health providers, insurance carriers, Fortune 500 companies, schools, libraries, and AIDS patients themselves. And, with the epidemic creating front-page news around the world, it's no wonder that about 25 news organizations, including the Los Angeles Times and NBC News, also subscribe.

The CAIN system is roughly divided into three main areas: an AIDS data base, an electronic communications area, and a resource and learning center. One of the more popular uses of CAIN is the conferencing function. Subscribers access the system using code names, and even Toth is unaware of who actually is on the system.

Due to the privacy afforded users, people requiring confidentiality can participate in electronic conferencing or data-base searching anonymously. CAIN's youngest user is 13 years old, says Toth, and lives somewhere in the Midwest. "I've talked to her electronically through CAIN. She has quite a sense of humor and catches all our typos." The young girl is on the system, says Toth, because her brother has hemophilia and she is following AIDS research.

As a fearful population confronts the AIDS epidemic, these organizations patiently explain complex information to the general public. Using such tools as research archives, computer networks and telephones, CAIN, DAIR, and Project Inform are fighting AIDS with facts, combating fear and prejudice, while linking doctors and patients to ground-breaking international research.

CAIN is located at 1213 North Highland Ave., Los Angeles CA 90038; (213) 464-7400, ext. 277.

DAIR, 2336 Market St., Suite 33, San Francisco, CA 94114; (415) 928-0292.

Project Inform, 25 Taylor St., Suite 618, San Francisco, CA 94102; 1-800-822-7422 and in California 1-800-334-7422. □

Jeffrey Chester and Barbara Tannenbaum are San Francisco-based writers who both cover public policy issues.

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MADISON

February 20

Jeff Faux helps Wisconsin's progressive leadership seize the state's economic policy initiative. One-day convention at Pres House, 731 State St. Madison, WI, Sat. Feb. 20, 9:30-3:30 with legislators and economic development leaders from the progressive urban, rural and labor movements. The Madison Institute. Admission w lunch \$7-15 or scholarship. (608) 251-9164.

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March 2-6

Physicians for Social Responsibility's National Meeting, "The Great Debate: Choices About Nuclear Weapons in 1988," will occur in Washington, D.C., March 2-6. Events include Lobby Day, congressional reception, plenary sessions, workshops, and Award Banquet. Call (202) 939-5750 or write PSR, 1601 Connecticut Ave., Suite 800, Washington, D.C. 20009 for further information.

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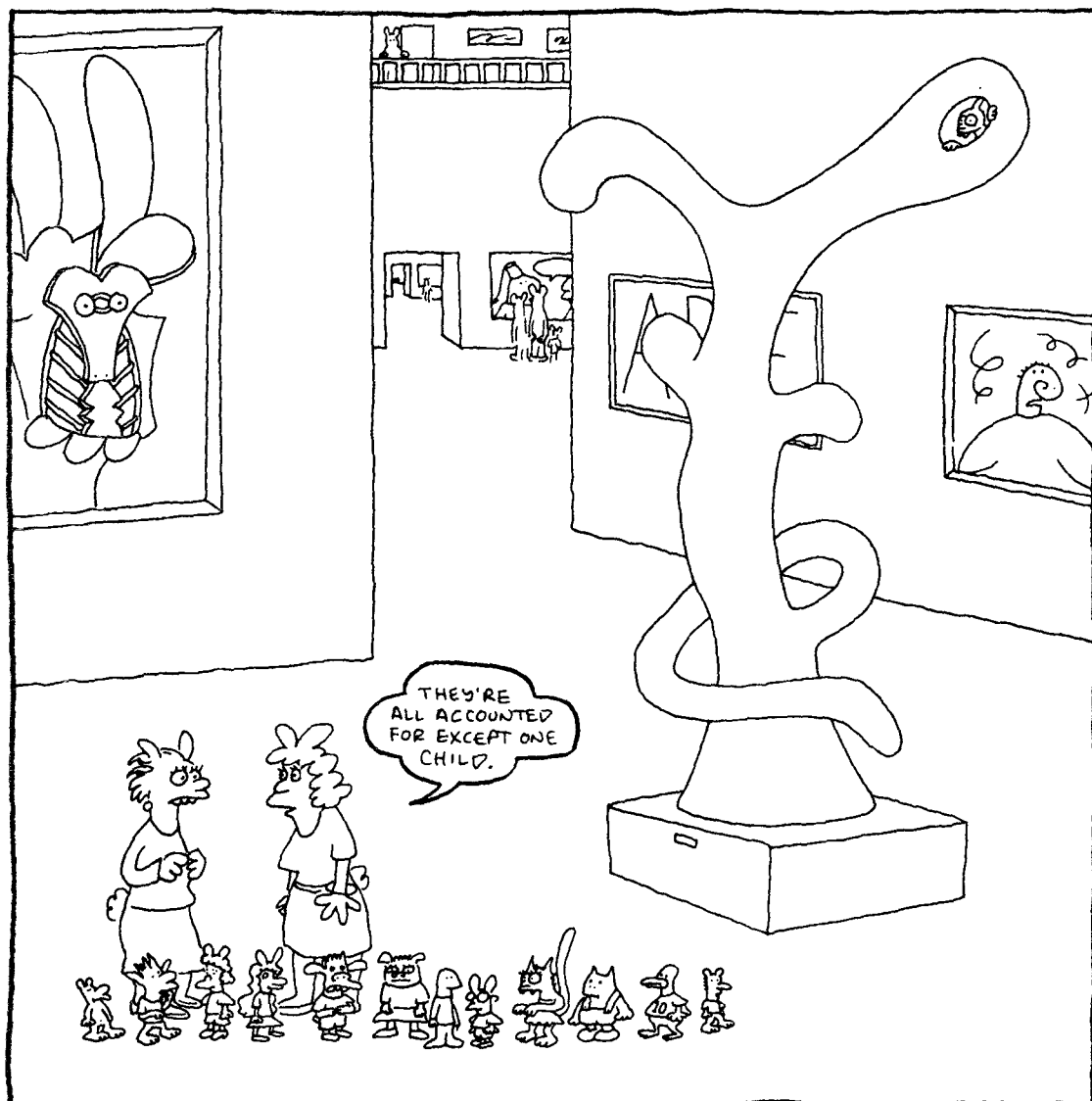
March 11

Focus on Zaire: Lynchpin of U.S. Policy in Southern and Central Africa. An international conference on Zaire's internal conditions, regional role and international connections. March 11, 9 a.m.-6 p.m. at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Root Room. 11 Dupont Circle. For more information call (202) 543-8324 Washington, (212) 864-3000 New York.

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AIDS in the INFORMATION AGE

By Jeffrey Chester and
Barbara Tannenbaum

DESPITE THE DEADLINE OF THE AIDS VIRUS, the average lifespan of a person with AIDS has increased to more than two years. But for too many, death follows within weeks of the initial diagnosis. In such cases, AIDS is discovered through the onset of an opportunistic disease. One of the leading factors in long-term survival with AIDS is whether hospitals, doctors and patients have up-to-date medical information.

Monitoring the developments in the AIDS epidemic is a seemingly overwhelming task. But in San Francisco and Los Angeles, small groups of men and women have created unique libraries and computer networks to make available every fact or theory about AIDS. For the operators of these data banks, every word spread can save, or prolong, a life.

"We give the public the original records that tip the balance from hearsay to facts," says archivist Michael Flanagan of San Francisco's DAIR (Documentation on AIDS Information and Research). The organization is the nation's most comprehensive repository of AIDS-related material. "The overwhelming message about AIDS in the media," says DAIR president Flanagan, "has been hysteria—for example, if you contract this disease, you should roll over and give up. That is a message that we want to change. And the only way to change it is with information."

Now two years old, DAIR grew out of the efforts of gay activists in the early '80s to respond to the AIDS crisis. DAIR's records include medical information on immune disorders and parasitic diseases, as well as statistics on Haitian immigration to the U.S. and legislative proposals and legal court cases. In addition to providing access to periodicals and the National Institute of Health's computerized medical data base, DAIR taps an extensive network of AIDS researchers who donate their notes and speeches from conferences and symposia.

Getting word out: DAIR's ability to prolong lives with information was apparent with their efforts to publicize a new treatment that stops pneumocystis pneumonia, a serious infection and leading cause of death for AIDS patients. John James, an early DAIR volunteer, reported on the treatment—the pioneering use of an aerosol inhaler (pentamidine prophylaxis) developed by Edward Bernard of the Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center in New York City.

As word of the breakthrough spread from the lab to the streets, the aerosol became a standard treatment for people with AIDS in San Francisco. But people in other cities did not fare as well. The medical papers officially announcing the treatment did not appear in medical journals until eight months later in August, 1987.

Operating on a meager \$4,000 annual

budget collected from two small grants and numerous contributions, DAIR contains little more than a row of filing cabinets, a broken xerox machine and a small core of volunteers who index and sort records. Special projects initiated by the archive have included a quarterly newsletter, with almost 1,000 subscribers nationwide, and an AIDS fact book. DAIR plans to loan an additional copy of its archive to one of the Bay Area's public libraries and is considering buying an optical scanner, which will allow the entire archive to be placed on a computer.

Tracking new treatments: Although DAIR handles a multitude of issues relating to AIDS, letters and phone calls deluged the organization specifically asking for updates on medical treatments by AIDS researchers. Responding to the deepening need, DAIR volunteers Martin Delaney and Joe Brewer originally held a series of "town hall" meetings in auditoriums and churches throughout the Bay Area to discuss medical options for people with AIDS. The idea of opening a national, toll-free hotline specializing in experimental AIDS medical treatment information grew out of those meetings. Project Inform opened its doors in July, 1986.

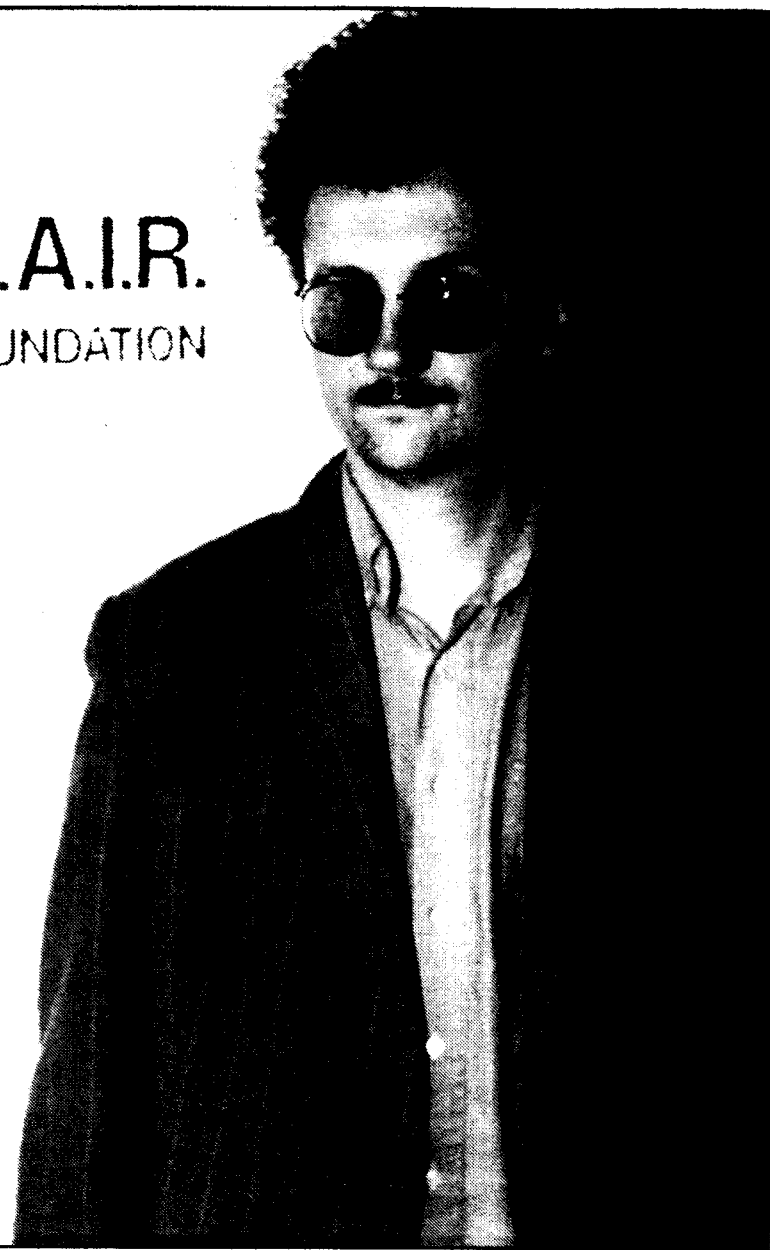
Now employing an administrative assistant and a clinical researcher, Project Inform relies on six volunteers to staff the telephones. Currently the organization receives a majority of the project's phone calls from out of state. "They are starving for information," explains Tom Jefferson, the project's

Independent AIDS
archives and
computer networks
cut through
rumors and
red tape to
help save lives.

administrative assistant. "You can hardly pick up a newspaper in California without reading about AIDS, but the situation is very different in Utah—and believe me, we get a lot of calls from Utah."

One of Project Inform's most important programs is its monitoring of the Federal Food and Drug Administration's (FDA) testing program for new drugs. In addition to FDA information, correspondence and attendance at international research conferences allow Project Inform to provide up-to-date

D.A.I.R.
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Michael Flanagan, president of DAIR, oversees the largest paper archive of AIDS-related documents in the United States.

AIDS treatment data.

While some drugs such as AZT and ribavirin have proven effective in research trials or with a limited number of patients, several others have not yet been licensed by the FDA. But Project Inform believes that AIDS patients and their doctors need to stay abreast of new developments. "The question is one of medical ethics," says Jefferson. "Drugs get derailed in the FDA testing program. It can cost up to \$80 million to test a new drug and take several years before it appears on the market."

Jefferson emphasizes that it is not illegal for doctors to use experimental drugs as part of a treatment plan. The key is getting doctors and patients informed about their availability and appropriate treatment protocols, such as the amount and frequency of the dosage and possible side effects. "People with AIDS have nothing to lose and everything to gain," adds Jefferson, who personally believes that victims should have greater access to experimental therapies.

"We make a firm distinction between fraudulent cures for AIDS, and experimental therapies," says Jefferson. "We keep track of the hunters and we expect California Attorney General John Van De Kamp to crack down on the charlatans."

To understand and monitor the impact of experimental drug treatments on AIDS patients, Project Inform hired Dr. Bill Woods, a clinical psychologist from Ohio State University to conduct a survey on people using ribavirin and isopinosine to boost their immune system while retarding the growth of the virus. The survey, which will be published this fall, will quantify the treatment's effectiveness. Partially as a result of Project Inform's discussion of these drugs, similar studies are now underway at the University

of Southern California, the National Institute of Health and George Washington University.

Dialing for AIDS data: "The sheer volume of AIDS literature has made obtaining vital knowledge a time-consuming, tedious, and often frustrating process," says Russ Toth, director of CAIN, the Computerized AIDS Information Network. The health professionals running this Los Angeles clinic recognized in 1981 that computers might make AIDS information available to everyone. Why a data base just for AIDS? According to Toth, "if you go through a regular medical data base, you have to sift through all kinds of other information. CAIN can find the information faster."

CAIN serves people nationwide, and even worldwide. "The information we need in California, someone needs in Colorado, or in Spokane," says Toth. "I can get information from the UCLA Medical Center's AIDS program by going down to their offices, but you can't do that if you are in Kansas." So Toth searched for a company specializing in computer networks that would allow, at no extra cost, for CAIN to be available throughout the country.

But finding a data base company to carry CAIN wasn't an easy task. "We first approached Compuserve (a Columbus, Ohio-based computer network popular with micro users) but, at the time, AIDS was very taboo. They said they would have to review and edit the material. But that wouldn't work because we wanted a 24-hour turnaround from the time of inputting the data," Toth recalls. Toth eventually chose the Delphi network, based in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

CAIN is able: Today, CAIN's sources of information have mushroomed from the original two to 5,000 providers who regularly

Continued on page 22